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MEMOIRS

OF

REAR-ADMIRAL PAUL JONES.

OLIVER & BOYD, PRINTERS.

MEMOIRS

OF

REAR-ADMIRAL PAUL JONES,

CHEVALIER OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF MERIT, AND OF THE RUSSIAN ORDER OF ST ANNE, &c. &c.

NOW FIRST COMPILED FROM HIS ORIGINAL JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE: INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SERVICES UNDER PRINCE POTEMKIN, PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION BY HIMSELF.

VOL. I.

PUBLISHED BY OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH;
AND SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, LONDON.

MDCCCXXX.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS'-HALL.

PREFACE.

SEVERAL years since a work purporting to be a "Life of Paul Jones" appeared in America, compiled by Mr Sherburne, Register of the Navy of the United States. An abridgment of the same work was reprinted in London by Mr Murray. The Life of Paul Jones still, however, remained to be written, for this good reason, that Mr Sherburne possessed no adequate materials for his work. The official correspondence of Paul Jones, while in the service of the United States, a few fragments of papers left by him in America, and discovered in a baker's shop of New York, and his letters to Mr Jefferson, though all

probably quite authentic, afford but scanty materials for the memoirs of a life so varied and full of adventure as was that of Paul Jones.

While Mr Sherburne was arranging these memoirs, the really private papers of their subject remained in the custody of his relatives in Dumfries. Mr Sherburne, and other individuals, aware of their existence, endeavoured to obtain these documents, but were refused, as there was a view to the present publication.

The history of the private papers on which Mr Sherburne rests his narrative is briefly this :— When at the end of the war, in 1783, Paul Jones was appointed by Congress agent for prize-money in Europe, he deposited, among other effects, certain account-books, log-books, and copies of letters, in the custody of his friend, Mr Ross of Philadelphia. His private correspondence, and whatever he thought most interesting, he brought with him to France. On

his death, his sisters in Scotland, who were his heirs, removed those books and papers left in America, from Mr Ross to the custody of Mr Robert Hyslop, merchant, New York. This gentleman died soon afterwards of the yellow-fever, and the papers left in America by Paul Jones were transferred to the custody of Mr John Hyslop, baker, the cousin and executor of Mr Robert Hyslop. There they remained, the heirs of Paul Jones not thinking it worth while to reclaim them. Mr John Hyslop, baker, also died, and left his affairs in great disorder; and soon after, or probably before his death, it was mentioned in a New York paper, that a letter "of that distinguished hero, Paul Jones," had been discovered in a baker's shop in the city. This led to inquiry, and Mr Ward obtained the wreck of these loose papers, which have been scattered far and wide; one original log-book, that of the Ranger, being now in the possession of a gentle-

man in Greenock, while that of the Bon Homme Richard belongs to Mr George Napier, advocate in this city. The circumstances under which those fragments were obtained by Mr Ward obviates all charge of impropriety on the part of that gentleman. By Mr Ward they were sold, or given, to Mr Sherburne; and on such slender and mutilated materials, of which he has perhaps made the most that was possible, together with the letters filed in the public offices, that writer has raised the structure entitled "The Life of Paul Jones."

The papers from which the present work is compiled may now be enumerated:—it is, however, in the first place, worthy of notice, that though Paul Jones acted a prominent part in the American war, a very small portion of his public life was spent in America. His field of enterprise was Europe. Though he had made two visits to the United States between the years

1780 and 1792, when he died in Paris, he spent but a short time in America, and that in comparative inactivity.

By his will, dated at Paris on the day of his death, Paul Jones left his property and effects of all kinds to his sisters in Scotland and their children. Immediately on his decease a regular, or rather an official inventory was made of his voluminous papers, which were sealed up with his other effects, till brought to Scotland by his eldest sister, Mrs Taylor, a few months after his death. They have ever since remained in the custody of his family; and are now, by inheritance, become the property of his niece, Miss Taylor of Dumfries. They consist of several bound folio volumes of letters and documents, which are officially authenticated, so far as they are public papers; numerous scrolls and copies of letters; and many private communications, originating in his widely-diffused correspondence in France, Holland, America, and other quarters. There is, in ad-

dition to these, a collection of writings of the miscellaneous kind likely to be accumulated by a man of active habits, who had for many years mingled both in the political and fashionable circles, wherever he chanced to be thrown.

The Journal of the Campaign of 1788 against the Turks, forms of itself a thick MS. bound volume. This Journal was drawn up by Paul Jones for the perusal of the Empress Catharine II.; and was intended for publication if the Russian government failed to do him justice. He felt that it totally failed; but death anticipated his long-contemplated purpose. To this Journal, Mr Eton, in his Survey of the Turkish Empire, refers, as having been seen by him. It was, however, only the official report, transmitted by Paul Jones to the Admiralty of the Black Sea, that this gentleman could have seen. This singular narrative, which so confidently gives the lie to all the Russian statements of that momentous campaign, is written in French. In the fol-

lowing work the language of the original is as closely adhered to as is admissible even in the most literal translation. Several passages have been omitted, and others curtailed, as they refer merely to technical details, which might have unduly swelled this work, without adding much to its interest. Much of the voluminous official correspondence which passed between Paul Jones and the other commanders during the campaign is also omitted. These *pièces justificatives* were only intended to corroborate, or elucidate, the narrative; they are, save in a few instances which are cited, not particularly interesting.

Besides the above papers and documents, the Editor has been furnished with the letters written by Paul Jones to his relations in Scotland, from the time that he was a ship-boy at Whitehaven till he died an Admiral in the Russian service, and the wearer of several Orders. From these materials an attempt has been made to exhibit, for the first time, the real character of

this remarkable and distinguished individual, fairly, but liberally,—keeping clear of Transatlantic hyperbole and exaggeration on the one hand, and of English prejudice and misrepresentation on the other. Of each of these, the reputation, and true character of Paul Jones, have long been the alternate sport or victim.

MEMOIRS OF PAUL JONES.

CHAPTER I.

John Paul Jones was born on the 6th of July, 1747, at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland.

The family of the Pauls was originally from Fife; but the grandfather of John Paul,—the name of Jones being long afterwards assumed,—kept a public, or, as it was then called, a mail-garden in Leith, on a spot long since covered with buildings. His son, the father of John Paul Jones, followed the same profession; and, on finishing his apprenticeship, entered into the employment of Mr Craik of Arbigland, in which he remained till his death, in 1767.

A gardener at that period was understood to

be a person of better education than a common operative mechanic in ordinary handicrafts. The father of Paul Jones must have been a man both of intelligence and worth. The garden of Arbigland was laid out by him; and he planted the trees that now embellish the mansion. The period of his service, and the interest which his employer took in his orphan family, establish the general worth and respectability of his character.

Shortly after entering into the employment of Mr Craik, John Paul married Jean Macduff, the daughter of a small farmer in the neighbouring parish of New-Abbey. The Macduffs were a respectable rural race in their own district; and some of them had been small landed proprietors in the parish of Kirkbean, for an immemorial period. Of this marriage there were seven children, of whom John—afterwards known as John Paul Jones—was the fifth: he may indeed be called the youngest, as two children born after him died in infancy.* The first-born of the family, Wil-

* Among the many calumnies by which the memory of Admiral Paul Jones has been loaded, and the nume-

liam Paul, went abroad early in life, and finally settled and married in Fredericksburgh, in Virginia. He appears to have been a man of enterprise and judgment. Beyond his early education and virtuous habits he could have derived no advantage from his family; and, in 1772 or 1773, when he died, still a young man, he left a considerable fortune. Of the daughters, the eldest, Elizabeth, died unmarried,—Janet, the second, married Mr Taylor, a watchmaker in Dumfries,—and the third, Mary Ann, was twice married, first to a Mr Young, and afterwards to Mr Louden. Of the relations of Admiral Jones, several nieces,

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rous vulgar traditions that hang about his reputation, and conceal his genuine character, is an absurd story of his having been the son of either Mr Craik, his father's employer, of one of the Earls of Selkirk, or of some other great personage, name unknown; as if it were impossible that a man so distinguished by gallantry and enterprise, could be, in very deed, merely the fifth child of Mr John Paul the gardener. His correspondence in the farther progress of this narrative will sufficiently refute an obsolete slander which was perhaps scarcely worth notice.

and a grand-nephew, now in the United States, still survive.

The residence of his father, near the shores of the Solway, in one of the most beautiful points of the Frith, must have been favourable to the genius of one who was destined to play the part of John Paul Jones—to have,—

> " His march upon the mountain wave,
> " His home upon the deep."

In the traditions of his family, young Paul is described as launching, while a mere child, his mimic-ship, hoisting his flag, and issuing his mandates to his imaginary crew, with all the firmness and dignity of one born to lead and to command his fellows.

Among the numerous unfounded slanders and rumours of which this brave and misrepresented man has been the object, is the assertion, that he ran off to sea against the will of his relations. Even this transgression might have been atoned by his after life; but it was not committed. His inclination for the bold and hardy mode of life which he adopted, appears, as it often does in boyhood, to have been a strong passion, fostered by his

childish pastimes, and encouraged by much that he saw and heard in his daily intercourse with ships and seamen. Man or boy, Paul Jones was not moulded in the stamp of character which shrinks from facing out what is once firmly resolved. A sailor's life was his decided choice; and at the age of twelve he was sent across the Solway by his relations, and bound apprentice to Mr Younger of Whitehaven. This gentleman, who was then a respectable merchant in the American trade, he found a kind and liberal master.

Though Paul Jones was thus early estranged from his family, and was afterwards prevented from much personal intercourse with them, this narrative will afford abundant evidence that, like almost every other young Scottish adventurer—to the national honour be it told—he continued a most affectionate son and brother, even when at the highest elevation of his fortune, giving constant proof, not merely of his readiness to minister to the comforts of his relations, but of his anxiety for the union, respectability, and prosperity of his sisters and their families.—To them he at last bequeathed the whole of his fortune.

The education which young Paul received at the parish-school of Kirkbean, must have terminated when he went to sea. His after acquirements—and they were considerable—were the fruits of private study, and of such casual opportunities as in boyhood he had the forethought and good sense to improve as often as his ship came into port. His first voyage was made to America, the country of his after adoption. He sailed in the Friendship of Whitehaven; and, before he was thirteen, landed on the shores of Rappahannock. While the Friendship remained in port, young Paul lived in the house of his brother William, and assiduously studied navigation and other branches of learning, either connected with his profession or of general utility.

In the course of a short time, his good conduct, intelligence, and knowledge of his profession, procured him the confidence and friendship of his master, who promised him his future protection and favour. From the subsequent embarrassment of his own affairs, Mr Younger was unable to fulfil this promise; but, in giving the young seaman up his indentures, he did all he

could then perform. Thus honourably released from his early engagements, Paul Jones, while still a mere boy, obtained the appointment of third mate of the King George of Whitehaven, a vessel engaged in the slave-trade. From this ship he went about the year 1766, being now nineteen years of age, into the brigantine Two Friends, of Kingston, Jamaica, as chief mate. This ship was engaged in the same nefarious traffic. It is stated by his relatives, the only source of information on the early period of his life that is either accessible or to be relied on, that he quitted this abominable trade in disgust at its enormities; and, in consequence of abandoning it, returned to Scotland in 1768, as a passenger in the brigantine John of Kirkcudbright, Captain Macadam, commander. On this voyage the captain and mate both died of fever; and there being no one on board so capable of navigating the ship, Paul assumed the command, and brought her safe into port. For this well-timed piece of service he was appointed by the owners, Currie, Beck, & Co., master and supercargo. This was almost the last time that young Paul had an opportunity of see-

ing his relations. He only met them once again, about the middle of the year 1771.

While Paul Jones was on board this vessel, a circumstance occurred which afterwards, in times of violent prejudice and party-feeling, was eagerly laid hold of to traduce and blacken his character, and to represent him as a cruel and lawless brigand, eager for plunder and thirsting for blood,* guilty of a thousand enormities, though of what precise kind no one could specify. It was confidently stated—and is still indeed very generally believed—that while in the command of the John he punished a man named Mungo Maxwell, the carpenter of that vessel, so severely, that he died in consequence of the stripes he received. The

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* It is not a little remarkable, that many of his own intelligent countrymen do to this day know of Paul Jones only as a wild reckless adventurer, a sort of modern buccaneer, possessed of no redeeming quality save great personal courage and intrepidity,—or as the subject of vulgar ballads and marvellous legends, daring impossible and acting horrible deeds, among which was the one above alluded to.

affidavits* given below clearly refute this calumny, which probably originated among those of his contemporaries who envied the place and influ-

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" *Tobago.*

* " Before the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor, William Young, Esq. of the island aforesaid, personally appeared James Simpson, Esq. who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, That some time about the beginning of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy, a person in the habit of a sailor came to this deponent (who was at that time Judge Surrogate of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for the island aforesaid) with a complaint against John Paul, (commander of a brigantine then lying in Rockley Bay of the said island,) for having beat the then complainant, (who belonged to the said John Paul's vessel,) at the same time showing this deponent his shoulders, which had thereon the marks of several stripes, but none that were either mortal or dangerous, to the best of this deponent's opinion and belief. And this deponent further saith, that he did summon the said John Paul before him, who, in his vindication, alleged that the said complainant had on all occasions proved very ill qualified for, as well as very negligent in, his duty; and also, that he was very lazy and inactive in the

ence his superior intelligence and energy had so early acquired for him. So tenacious of life is

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execution of his (the said John Paul's) lawful commands, at the same time declaring his sorrow for having corrected the complainant. And this deponent further saith, that having dismissed the complaint as frivolous, the complainant, as this deponent believes, returned to his duty. And this deponent further saith, that he has since understood that the said complainant died afterwards on board of a different vessel, on her passage to some of the Leeward Islands, and that the said John Paul (as this deponent is informed) has been accused in Great Britain as the immediate author of the said complainant's death, by means of the said stripes herein before mentioned, which accusation this deponent, for the sake of justice and humanity, in the most solemn manner declares, and believes to be, in his judgment, without any just foundation, so far as relates to the stripes before mentioned, which this deponent very particularly examined. And further this deponent saith not.

" JAMES SIMPSON.

" Sworn before me, this 30th day of
June, 1772, WILLIAM YOUNG."

" James Eastment, mariner, and late master of the

slander, however false and groundless, that twenty years afterwards, when Paul Jones was a rear-

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Barcelona packet, maketh oath, and saith, That Mungo Maxwell, carpenter, formerly on board the John, Captain John Paul, master, came in good health on board his, this deponent's said vessel, then laying in Great Rockley Bay, in the island of Tobago, about the middle of the month of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy, in the capacity of a carpenter, aforesaid; that he acted as such in every respect in perfect health for some days after he came on board this deponent's said vessel, the Barcelona packet; after which he was taken ill of a fever and lowness of spirits, which continued for four or five days, when he died on board the said vessel, during her passage from Tobago to Antigua. And this deponent further saith, that he never heard the said Mungo Maxwell complain of having received any ill usage from the said Captain John Paul; but that he, this deponent, verily believes the said Mungo Maxwell's death was occasioned by a fever and lowness of spirits, as aforesaid, and not by or through any other cause or causes whatsoever.

" JAMES EASTMENT.

" Sworn at the Mansion House, London,
this 30th of January, 1773, before me,
JAMES TOWNSEND, Mayor."

admiral in the Russian service, the same calumnious story was revived, though Maxwell the carpenter was then transformed into Jones's own nephew. This was done to injure him with the Empress Catherine, and when, instead of his ancient school-fellows of Kirkbean, or ship-mates of Kirkcudbright, his rivals were the Princes Potemkin and de Nassau.

One of the earliest letters of Jones now extant relates to this unfortunate affair, which was calculated to make a deep impression on a young and ingenuous mind, and gave much uneasiness and pain to him. The letter is addressed to his mother and sisters, and gives a better and fairer

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"These do certify to whom it may concern, that the bearer, Captain John Paul, was two voyages master of a vessel called the John, in our employ in the West India trade, during which time he approved himself every way qualified both as a navigator and supercargo; but as our present firm is dissolved, the vessel was sold, and of course he is out of our employ, all accounts between him and the owners being amicably adjusted. Certified at Kirkcudbright this 1st April, 1771.

"CURRIE, BECK, & Co."

view of his youthful character than could be given by the most laboured panegyric of a biographer:—

" London, 24th September, 1772.

" My dear Mother and Sisters,

" I only arrived here last night from the Grenadas. I have had but poor health during the voyage; and my success in it not having equalled my first sanguine expectations, has added very much to the asperity of my misfortunes, and, I am well assured, was the cause of my loss of health. I am now, however, better, and I trust Providence will soon put me in a way to get bread, and (which is by far my greatest happiness) be serviceable to my poor but much-valued friends. I am able to give you no account of my future proceedings, as they depend upon circumstances which are not fully determined.

" I have enclosed you a copy of an affidavit made before Governor Young by the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty of Tobago, by which you will see with how little reason my life has been thirsted after, and, which is much dearer to

me, my honour, by maliciously loading my fair character with obloquy and vile aspersions. I believe there are few who are hard-hearted enough to think I have not long since given the world every satisfaction in my power, being conscious of my innocence before Heaven, who will one day judge even my judges. I staked my honour, life, and fortune for six long months on the verdict of a British jury, notwithstanding I was sensible of the general prejudices which ran against me; but, after all, none of my accusers had the courage to confront me. Yet I am willing to convince the world, if reason and facts will do it, that they have had no foundation for their harsh treatment. I mean to send Mr Craik a copy properly proved, as his nice feelings will not perhaps be otherways satisfied;* in the mean time, if you please, you may show him that enclosed. His ungracious conduct to me before I left Scotland I have not yet been able to get the better of. Every person of feeling must think meanly of adding to the load

* Mr Craik was perfectly convinced of his innocence, but they never either met or corresponded afterwards.

of the afflicted. It is true I bore it with seeming unconcern, but Heaven can witness for me that I suffered the more on that very account. But enough of this. And now a word or two in the family-way, and I have done."

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As the employer and patron of his deceased father, young Paul naturally looked to Mr Craik for advice and countenance to himself, and for protection and kindness to his helpless female relatives. The following letter illustrates the true nature of his connexion with that gentleman, the fetters of whose cautious kindness do not appear to have sat very easily upon him. It also throws an incidental light on his energetic and self-depending character, even at this early period of his life :—

" St George's, Grenada, 5th Aug. 1770.

" Sir,

" Common report here says that my owners are going to finish their connexions in the West Indies as fast as possible. How far this is true I

shall not pretend to judge; but should that really prove the case, you know the disadvantages I must of course labour under.

"These, however, would not have been so great had I been acquainted with the matter sooner, as in that case I believe I could have made interest with some gentlemen here to have been concerned with me in a large ship out of London; and as these gentlemen have estates in this and the adjacent islands, I should have been able to make two voyages every year, and always had a full ship out and home, &c. &c. &c.

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"However, I by no means repine, as it is a maxim with me to do my best, and leave the rest to Providence. I shall take no step whatever without your knowledge and approbation.

"I have had several very severe fevers lately, which have reduced me a good deal, though I am now perfectly recovered.

"I must beg you to supply my mother should she want any thing, as I well know your readiness.

"I hope yourself and family enjoy health and happiness. I am, most sincerely,

"Sir, yours always,

"JOHN PAUL."

It has been alleged, that about this time young Paul was engaged in the contraband trade, then very generally practised among the self-named *fair-dealers* of the towns along both shores of the Solway. Without entering into the question of how far at that period the act of smuggling might otherwise affect a man's moral character or estimation in society, it is certain that Jones long afterwards decidedly and indignantly repelled this degrading charge, and that the first entry of goods from England to the Isle of Man, after that nest of smugglers and centre of the contraband trade had been annexed to the crown, stands in his name in the Custom-house books of Douglas.

Soon after this period Paul obtained command of the Betsy of London, a West India ship, and remained for a time in the islands engaged in commercial speculations, to which his subsequent letters refer. He appears to have left consider-

able funds in Tobago; and in 1773 we find him in Virginia arranging the affairs of his brother William, who had died intestate, and without leaving children. About this time he assumed the name of Jones.

The American Revolution, of the progress of which Paul Jones could not have been an indifferent spectator, found him living in deep retirement, unoccupied, and for the time in a state of great privation, occasioned by the dilatoriness or misconduct of his agents. At this time he had subsisted for twenty months on the sum of fifty pounds. It is to this period that Jones refers in his celebrated letter to the Countess of Selkirk, when he says, "Before this war began I had at the early time of life withdrawn from the sea-service, in favour of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good-will among mankind."

CHAPTER II.

But Jones, whatever he might think, was not of the temperament to which the cultivation of maize and tobacco—which in America about that period must have comprehended "the rural life in all its joy and elegance"—could long remain the favourite scheme. He was now twenty-eight—the very prime of active existence—full of talent and enterprise, ardent and ambitious, and quite of the mind in which he seems to have held through life, that though it might be shame to be on any side but one, it was greater shame to lie idle when blows were going. Many causes combined to make him believe the cause of the colonies the right one—the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity. A man who from the age of twelve had been a wanderer on the deep, must have been as much at home in America as in Britain. Both countries must have appeared in-

tegral portions of the same state; and in its civil dissensions, circumstances determined the part he should take. Thus right or wrong as to the side he took, Jones stood clear in his motives to his own conscience. To him indeed the cause of America—the country, as he afterwards terms it, of his "fond election"—was the elevating source of his most brilliant actions. It is but fair to allow him to be the interpreter of his own motives:—of his deeds every man is at liberty to judge. Four years after he had volunteered in the cause of America, it is thus he addresses the Baron Vander Capellan, having, it must be owned, a favourite object to carry at Amsterdam:—

"I was indeed born in Britain; but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives. They are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards the man who draws his sword only in support of the dignity of freedom. America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honour to hoist with my own hands

the flag of freedom, the first time it was displayed, on the Delaware; and I have attended it with veneration ever since on the ocean."

Though in the heat of a struggle, which, from its very nature, was, like the feuds of the nearest relatives, singularly rancorous and bitter, Jones was branded as a traitor and a felon, and after his most brilliant action, his capture of the Serapis, formally denounced by the British ambassador at the Hague as a rebel and a pirate according to the laws of war,* it must be remembered that he bore this stigma in common with the best and greatest of his contemporaries—with Franklin and Washington; which last had actually borne arms in the service of the King of England. The memory of Paul Jones now needs little vindication for this important step. After the peace he enjoyed the esteem and private friendship of Englishmen who might have forgiven the most imbittered political hostility, but never could have overlooked a taint on personal

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* Memorial of Sir Joseph York to the States-General, dated the Hague, 8th October, 1779.

honour. Of this number was the Earl of Wemyss, who after the peace endeavoured to promote the views of Jones on various occasions. He himself, however, discovers a lurking consciousness of having incurred, if not of meriting, suspicion on this delicate ground. This is chiefly displayed by his eloquent though rather frequent assertions of purity of motive, superiority to objects of sordid interest, and disinterested zeal for the cause, now of America, now of human nature, as was best adapted to the supposed inclinations of his correspondents. In ordinary circumstances much of this might have appeared uncalled for; but the situation of Jones was in many respects peculiar both as a native-born Briton, and as a man of obscure origin, jealous—and pardonably so—of his independence and dignity of character. Somewhat of the heroic vaunting which marks other parts of his correspondence appears incident to the enthusiastic temperament of many great naval commanders. How would Nelson's tone of confident prediction, and boasts of prowess, have sounded from the lips of an inferior man?—In any other than himself the customary language

of Drake would have been reckoned that of an insolent braggart.

Besides the public spirit and love of liberty which in Jones were both warm and sincere, other motives of that mixed nature, by which every human being, how disinterested and devoted soever, must at times be influenced, were not wanting to enlist him on the side of the colonies. He was living at the most active period of life in penury and neglect. His friendships, his interests, his gratitude, all inclined him to the part of America. In a letter addressed to Mr Stuart Mawey of Tobago, written immediately before he went to Europe in open hostility as an officer of the United States, a letter which does as much honour to the clearness of his head as to the integrity and filial kindness of his heart, these circumstances are distinctly explained.

" Boston, 4th May, 1777.

" Dear Sir,

" After an unprofitable suspense of twenty months, (having subsisted on *fifty pounds only* during that time,) when my hopes of relief were

entirely cut off, and there remained no possibility of my receiving wherewithal to subsist upon from my effects in your island, or in England, I at last had recourse to strangers for that aid and comfort which was denied me by those friends whom I had intrusted with my all. The good offices which are rendered to persons in their extreme need, ought to make deep impressions on grateful minds; in my case I feel the truth of that sentiment, and am bound by gratitude, as well as honour, to follow the fortunes of my late benefactors.

" I have lately seen Mr Sicaton, (late manager on the estates of Arch. Stuart, Esq.) who informed me that Mr Ferguson had quitted Orange Valley, on being charged with the unjust application of the property of his employers. I have been, and am extremely concerned at this account; I wish to disbelieve it, although it seems too much of a piece with the unfair advantage which, *to all appearance*, he took of me, when he left me in exile for twenty months, a prey to melancholy and want, and withheld my property, without writing a word in excuse for his conduct.

Thus circumstanced, I have taken the liberty of sending you a letter of attorney by Captain Cleaveland, who undertakes to deliver it himself, as he goes for Tobago *via* Martinico. You have enclosed a copy of a list of debts acknowledged, which I received from Mr Ferguson when I saw you last at Orange Valley. You have also a list of debts contracted with me, together with Ferguson's receipt. And there remained a considerable property unsold, besides some best Madeira wine which he had shipped for London. By the state of accounts which I sent to England on my arrival on this continent, there was a balance due to me from the ship Betsy of £909, 15s. 3d. sterling; and in my account with Robert Young, Esq., 29th January, 1773, there appeared a balance in my favour of £281, 1s. 8d. sterling. These sums exceed my drafts and just debts together; so that, if I am fairly dealt with, I ought to receive a considerable remittance from that quarter. You will please to observe, that there were nine pieces of coarse camblets shipped at Cork, *over and above the quantity expressed in the bill of lading.* It seems the shippers, find-

ing their mistake, applied for the goods; and, as I have been informed from Grenada, Mr Ferguson laid hold of this opportunity to propagate a report that all the goods which I put into his hands were the property of that house in Cork. If this base suggestion hath gained belief, it accounts for all the neglect which I have experienced. But however my connexions are changed, my principles as an honest man of candour and integrity are the same; therefore, should there not be a sufficiency of my property in England to answer my just debts, I declare that it is my first wish to make up such deficiency from my property in Tobago; and were even that also to fall short, I am ready and willing to make full and ample remittances from hence upon hearing from you the true state of my affairs. As I hope my dear mother is still alive, I must inform you that I wish my property in Tobago, or in England, after paying my just debts, to be applied for her support. Your own feelings, my dear sir, make it unnecessary for me to use arguments to prevail with you on this tender point. Any remittances which you may be enabled to make,

through the hands of my good friend Captain John Plainer of Cork, will be faithfully put into her hands; she hath several orphan grandchildren to provide for. I have made no apology for giving you this trouble: My situation will, I trust, obtain your free pardon.

I am always, with perfect esteem,
Dear Sir,
Your very obliged, very obedient,
And most humble servant,
" J. PAUL JONES.

" STUART MAWEY, Esquire,
Tobago."

Among the friends whose fortunes Jones conceived himself bound to follow by gratitude as well as honour, was probably Mr Joseph Hewes of the Marine Committee of the infant Republic. Under the united influence of so many powerful motives he entered the American service.

Though Paul Jones had not received his maritime education in ships of war, he had frequently sailed in armed vessels, and had been early trained into an excellent practical seaman, com-

pletely realizing the merchant sailor's adage, "Aft the more honour—forward the better man." His nautical skill, as well as his boldness and capacity, were thus of incalculable value to the infant navy of America; and in 1775, when the combustibles of revolution, so long smouldering, burst into an open irrepressible flame, his services were as readily accepted as they were heartily tendered. From this date Paul Jones owned no country save America.

In organizing the maritime service of the young republic, three classes of lieutenants were appointed by Congress; and of the first class Jones was appointed senior lieutenant. The first commission he received from Congress bears date the 7th of December, 1775. He was appointed to the ALFRED, a name of good omen to an infant state sprung from England; and on board of that vessel, then lying before Philadelphia, he, in a few days afterwards, first hoisted that starry flag which he so bravely followed in many seas.

The American navy at this time consisted of only two ships, two brigantines, and one sloop. Even these it was not easy to officer with per-

sons properly qualified. Thirteen frigates were, however, about the same time ordered to be built.

Of this first period of his service three different accounts, drawn up by himself, remain among the papers of Captain Jones,—one contained in a *refreshing* memorial addressed to Congress while he lay in the Texel, dated December, 1779,—another addressed to Robert Morris, the minister of the marine, in 1783, when Jones had just reason to think his former services neglected, if not forgotten,—and a third in a journal of his campaigns drawn up for the private information of the King of France, and read by that unfortunate prince while a close prisoner. This last document contains the following clear and succinct account of his early operations, written in the third person :—

"When Congress thought fit to equip a naval force towards the conclusion of the year 1775, '*for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof*,' it was a very difficult matter to find men fitly qualified for officers, and willing to embark in the ships and vessels that were then put into commission.

The American navy at first was no more than the ships Alfred and Columbus, the brigantines Andrew Doria, and Cabot, and the sloop Providence. A commander-in-chief of the fleet was appointed; and the Captains Saltonstall, Whipple, Biddle, and Hopkins, were named for the ships and brigantines. A captain's commission for the Providence, (bought, or to be bought, about the time, from Captain Whipple,) which Mr Joseph Hewes of the Marine Committee offered to his friend Mr John Paul Jones, was not accepted, because Mr Jones had never sailed in a sloop, and had then no idea of the declaration of independence that took place the next year. It was his early wish to do his best for the cause of America, which he considered as the cause of human nature. He could have no object of self-interest; and having then no prospect that the American navy would soon become an established service, that *rank* was the most acceptable to him by which he could be the most useful in that moment of public calamity. There were three classes of lieutenants appointed, and Mr Jones was appointed the first of the first-lieutenants,

which placed him next in command to the four captains already mentioned. This commission is dated the 7th day of December, 1775, as first lieutenant of the Alfred. On board of that ship, before Philadelphia, Mr Jones hoisted the flag of America with his own hands, the first time it was ever displayed. All the commissions for the Alfred were dated before the commissions for the Columbus, &c. All the time this little squadron was fitting and manning, Mr Jones superintended the affairs of the Alfred; and as Captain Saltonstall did not appear at Philadelphia, the Commander-in-chief told Mr Jones he should command that ship. A day or two before the squadron sailed from Philadelphia, manned and fit for sea, Captain Saltonstall appeared, and took command of the Alfred. The object of the first expedition was against Lord Duncan in Virginia. But instead of proceeding immediately on that service, the squadron was hauled to the wharfs at Reedy Island, and lay there for six weeks frozen up. Here Mr Jones and the other lieutenants stood the deck, watch and watch, night and day, to prevent desertion; and they lost no man from the

Alfred. On the 17th of February, 1776, the squadron sailed from the Bay of Delaware. On the 1st of March the squadron anchored at Abaco, one of the Bahama Islands, and carried in there two sloops belonging to New Providence. Some persons on board the sloops, informed that a quantity of powder and warlike stores might be taken in the forts of New Providence. An expedition was determined on against that island. It was resolved to embark the marines on board the two sloops. They were to remain below deck until the sloops had anchored in the harbour close to the forts, and they were then to land and take possession. There was not a single soldier in the island to oppose them; therefore the plan would have succeeded, and not only the public stores might have been secured, but a considerable contribution might have been obtained as a ransom for the town and island, had not the whole squadron appeared off the harbour in the morning, instead of remaining out of sight till after the sloops had entered and the marines secured the forts. On the appearance of the squadron the signal of alarm was fired, so that it was impossi-

ble to think of crossing the bar. The Commander-in-chief proposed to go round the west end of the island, and endeavour to march the marines up and get behind the town; but this could never have been effected. The islanders would have had time to collect; there was no fit anchorage for the squadron, nor road from that part of the island to the town. Mr Jones finding by the Providence pilots that the squadron might anchor under a key three leagues to windward of the harbour, gave this account to the Commander-in-chief, who objecting to the dependence on the pilots, Mr Jones undertook to carry the Alfred safe in. He took the pilot with him to the foretopmast-head, from whence they could clearly see every danger, and the squadron anchored safe. The marines, with two vessels to cover their landing, were immediately sent in by the east passage. The Commander-in-chief promised to touch no private property. The inhabitants abandoned the forts, and the governor, finding he must surrender the island, embarked all the powder in two vessels, and sent them away in the night. This was foreseen, and might have been

prevented, by sending the two brigantines to lie off the bar. The squadron entered the harbour of New Providence, and sailed from thence the 17th of March, having embarked the cannon, &c. that was found in the fort. In the night of the 9th of April, on the return of the squadron from the Providence expedition, the American arms by sea were first tried in the affair with the Glasgow off Block Island. Both the Alfred and Columbus mounted two batteries. The Alfred mounted 30, the Columbus 28 guns. The first battery was so near the water as to be fit for nothing except in a harbour or a very smooth sea. The sea was at the time perfectly smooth. Mr Jones was stationed below deck to command the Alfred's first battery, which was well served whenever the guns could be brought to bear on the enemy, as appears by the official letter of the Commander-in-chief giving an account of that action. Mr Jones therefore did his duty; and as he had no direction whatever, either of the general disposition of the squadron, or the sails and helm of the Alfred, he can stand charged with no part of the disgrace of that night. The squadron steered

directly for New London, and entered that port two days after the action. Here General Washington lent the squadron 200 men, as was thought, for some enterprise. The squadron, however, stole quietly round to Rhode Island, and up the river to Providence. Here a court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Whipple, for not assisting in the action with the Glasgow. Another court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Hazard, who had been appointed captain of the sloop Providence at Philadelphia, some time after Mr Jones had refused that command. Captain Hazard was broke, and rendered incapable of serving in the navy. The next day, the 10th of May, 1776, Mr Jones was ordered by the Commander-in-chief to take command '*as captain of the Providence.*' This proves that Mr Jones did his duty on the Providence expedition. As the Commander-in-chief had in his hands no blank-commission, he had this appointment written on the back of the commission that Mr Jones had received at Philadelphia the 7th of December, 1775. Captain Jones had orders to receive on board the Providence the soldiers that had

been borrowed from General Washington, and carry them to New York,—there enlist as many seamen as he could, and then return to New London, to take in from the hospital all the seamen that had been left there by the squadron, and were recovered, and carry them to Providence. Captain Jones soon performed these services; and having hove down the sloop and partly fitted her for war at Providence, he received orders from the Commander-in-chief, dated Rhode Island, June 10th, 1776, to come immediately down to take a sloop then in sight, armed for war, belonging to the enemy's navy. Captain Jones obeyed orders with alacrity; but the enemy had disappeared before he reached Newport. On the 13th of June, 1776, Captain Jones received orders, dated that day at Newport, Rhode Island, from the Commander-in-chief, to proceed to Newbury Port to take under convoy some vessels bound for Philadelphia; but first to convoy Lieutenant Hacker in the Fly, with a cargo of cannon, into the sound for New York, and to convoy some vessels back from Stonington to the entrance of Newport. In performing these last

services, Captain Jones found great difficulty from the enemy's frigates, then cruising round Block Island, with which he had several rencontres ; in one of which he saved a brigantine that was a stranger, from Hispaniola, closely pursued by the Cerberus, and laden with public stores. That brigantine was afterwards purchased by the Continent, and called the Hampden. Captain Jones received orders from the Commander-in-chief to proceed for Boston instead of Newbury Port. At Boston he was detained a considerable time by the backwardness of the agent. He arrived with his convoy from Boston, safe in the Delaware, the 1st of August, 1776. This service was performed while the enemy were arriving at Sandy Hook from Halifax and England, and Captain Jones saw several of their ships of war. Captain Jones received a captain's commission from the president of Congress the 8th of August. It was proposed to Captain Jones by the Marine Committee to go to Connecticutt, to command the brigantine Hampden ; but he choosing rather to remain in the sloop Providence, had orders to go out on a cruise against the enemy ' for six

weeks, [or] two or three months.' He was not limited to any particular station or service. He left the Delaware the 21st of August, and arrived at Rhode Island on the 7th of October, 1776. Captain Jones had only seventy men when he sailed from the Delaware, and the Providence mounted only 12 four-pounders. Near the latitude of Bermudas he had a very narrow escape from the enemy's frigate the Solebay, after a chase of six hours within cannon-shot, and part of that time within pistol-shot. Afterwards, near the Isle of Sable, Captain Jones had an affair with the enemy's frigate the Milford; and the firing between them lasted from ten in the morning till after sunset. The day after this rencontre, Captain Jones entered the harbour of Canso, where he recruited several men, took the Tories' flags, destroyed the fishing, &c., and sailed again the next morning on an expedition against the Island of Madame. He made two descents at the principal ports of that island at the same time; surprised all their shipping, though the place abounded with men, and they had arms. All this, from the Delaware to Rhode Island, was

performed in six weeks and five days; in which time Captain Jones made sixteen prizes, besides small craft. He manned eight of them, and sunk, burnt, or destroyed the rest. The Commander-in-chief was at Rhode Island, who, in consequence of the information given him by Captain Jones, adopted an expedition against the coal-fleet of Cape Breton and the fishery, as well as to relieve a number of Americans from the coal-mines, where they were compelled to labour by the enemy. The Alfred had remained idle ever since the Providence expedition, and was without men. It was proposed to employ that ship, the brigantine Hampden, and sloop Providence, on this expedition, under the command of Captain Jones, who had orders given him for that purpose on the 22d October, 1776, and then removed from the sloop Providence to the ship Alfred. Finding he could not enlist a sufficient number of men for the three sail before the season would be lost, Captain Jones determined to leave the sloop Providence behind; but Captain Hacker ran the Hampden upon a ledge of rocks on the 27th, and knocked off her keel, which

obliged Captain Jones to remove him into the sloop Providence. The Alfred and Providence sailed on this expedition the 2d of November, Captain Jones having only 140 men on his muster-roll for the Alfred, though that ship had 235 men when she left the Delaware. Captain Jones anchored for the night at Tarpawling Cove, near Nantucket, and, finding there a privateer schooner belonging to Rhode Island inward-bound, he sent his boat to search for deserters from the navy, and finding four deserters carefully concealed on board, they were taken on board the Alfred, with a few other seamen, agreeably to *orders from the Commander-in-chief*. The concerned in the privateer brought an action against Captain Jones for £10,000 damages, and the Commander-in-chief had the politeness not to support him. Captain Jones proceeded on his expedition. Off Louisbourg he took a brig with a rich cargo of dry goods, a snow with a cargo of fish, and a ship called the Mellish, bound for Canada, armed for war, and laden with soldiers' clothing. The day after taking these prizes (the 18th) the snow fell, and the wind blew fresh

off Cape Breton. To prevent separation, and not from the violence of the weather, Captain Jones made the signal to lay to, which was obeyed; but as soon as the night began, Captain Hacker bore away. He made shift to arrive at Rhode Island a day or two before the place was taken by the enemy. Captain Jones ordered the brigantine and snow to steer for our ports; but determined not to lose sight of the Mellish, unless in case of necessity. Captain Jones, after that little gale and contrary winds, fell in with Canso, and sent his boats in to destroy a fine transport that lay aground in the entrance, laden with Irish provision. The party burnt also the oil-warehouse, and destroyed the materials for the fishery. Off Louisbourg, on the 24th, he took three fine ships out of five, the coal-fleet, then bound for New York, under the command of the Flora, that would have been in sight had the fog been dispersed. Two days after this, Captain Jones took a letter-of-marque ship from Liverpool. He had now an hundred and fifty prisoners on board the Alfred, and a great part of his water and provision was consumed. He found the harbour at the coal-

mines was frozen up, and necessity obliged him to seek a hospitable port with the five prize-ships under convoy. No separation took place till the 7th of December, on the edge of St George's Bank, where Captain Jones again fell in with the Milford frigate. Captain Jones had the address to save all his prizes except one, (the letter-of-marque from Liverpool,) and that one would not have been taken, had not the prize-master foolishly run down under the Milford's lee, from being three leagues to windward. The Mellish arrived safe with the clothing at Dartmouth, and Captain Jones arrived at Boston the 15th December, 1776, having only two days' water and provision left. The news of the clothing reached General Washington's army just before he re-crossed the Delaware. By a letter from the Commander-in-chief, on board the Warren, at Providence, January the 14th, 1777, Captain Jones was superseded in the command of the Alfred, in favour of Captain Hinman, who said he brought a commission from Congress to supersede that of Captain Jones. The 21st of January, 1777, this drew from Captain Jones a letter to the Marine

Committee, stating his hopes that Congress would not so far overlook his early and faithful services as to supersede him by any man who was at first his junior officer, far less by any man who declined to serve in the Alfred, &c., at the beginning. Captain Jones paid off the crews of the Alfred and Providence, for which he has never been reimbursed. On the 18th of February, Captain Jones received an appointment by order of Congress from the Vice-President of the Marine Committee, dated Philadelphia, February the 5th, 1777, to command private expeditions against Pensacola and other places, with the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence. Many important schemes were pointed out; but Captain Jones was left at free liberty to adopt whatever he thought best. This appointment fell to nothing; for the Commander-in-chief would not assist Captain Jones, but affected to disbelieve his appointment. Captain Jones undertook a journey from Boston to Philadelphia, in order to explain matters to Congress in person."

This attempt to supersede him was the first

occasion on which Jones decidedly showed the firmness and tenacity of his character, and his determination to assert his rights. Even then, unknown and unfriended, he was quite equal to their protection.

The remainder of this statement is more copiously and energetically given in the letter referred to in the prefixed extract, as addressed by him to the Marine Board, Philadelphia. It will show the neglect and heart-burning to which this brave man was exposed from the first hour of his entering the American navy. Three-fourths of his subsequent life was a struggle to overcome the prejudices, defeat the cabals, or quicken the tardy justice of his temporary official superiors.

"I am now to inform you, that by a letter from Commodore Hopkins, dated on board the Warren, January 14th, 1777, which came to my hands a day or two ago, I am superseded in the command of the Alfred, in favour of Captain Hinman, and ordered back to the sloop in Providence River. Whether this order doth or doth not supersede also your orders to me of the 10th

ult., you can best determine; however, as I undertook the late expedition at his (Commodore Hopkins's) request, from a principle of humanity, I mean not now to make a difficulty about trifles, especially when the good of the service is to be consulted. As I am unconscious of any neglect of duty, or misconduct, since my appointment at the first as eldest lieutenant of the navy, I cannot suppose that you can have intended to set me aside in favour of any man who did not at that time bear a captain's commission, unless indeed that man, by exerting his superior abilities, hath rendered or can render more important services to America. Those who stepped forth at the first, in ships altogether unfit for war, were generally considered rather as frantic than as wise men; for it must be remembered, that almost every thing then made against them. And although the success in the affair with the Glasgow was not equal to what it might have been, yet the blame ought not to be general. The principal or principals in command alone are culpable; and the other officers, while they stand unimpeached, have their full merit. There were, it is true, divers

persons, from misrepresentation, put into commission at the beginning, without fit qualification, and perhaps the number may have been increased by later appointments; but it follows not that the gentleman or man of merit should be neglected or overlooked on their account. None other than a gentleman, as well as a seaman both in theory and practice, is qualified to support the character of a commission officer in the navy; nor is any man fit to command a ship of war who is not also capable of communicating his ideas on paper, in language that becomes his rank. If this be admitted, the foregoing operations will be sufficiently clear; but if further proof is required, it can easily be produced.

"When I entered into the service, I was not actuated by motives of self-interest. I stept forth as a free citizen of the world, in defence of the violated rights of mankind, and not in search of riches, whereof, I thank God, I inherit a sufficiency; but I should prove my degeneracy were I not in the highest degree tenacious of my rank and seniority. As a gentleman, I can yield this point up only to persons of superior abilities and

superior merit; and under such persons it would be my highest ambition to learn. As this is the first time of my having expressed the least anxiety on my own account, I must entreat your patience until I account to you for the reason which hath given me this freedom of sentiment. It seems that Captain Hinman's commission is N° 1, and that, in consequence, he who was at first my junior officer by eight, hath *expressed himself as my senior officer* in a manner which doth himself no honour, and which doth me signal injury. There are also in the navy, persons who have not shown me fair play after the service I have rendered them. I have even been blamed for the civilities which I have shown to my prisoners; at the request of one of whom I herein enclose an appeal, which I must beg leave to lay before Congress. Could you see the appellant's accomplished lady, and the innocents their children, arguments in their behalf would be unnecessary. As the base-minded only are capable of inconsistencies, you will not blame my free soul, which can never stoop where I cannot also esteem. Could I, which I never can, bear to be

superseded, I should indeed deserve your contempt and total neglect. I am therefore to entreat you to employ me in the most enterprising and active service,—accountable to your Honourable Board only, for my conduct, and connected as much as possible with gentlemen and men of good sense."

"My conduct hitherto," he says, in the memorial addressed to Congress from the Texel, "was so much approved of by Congress, that on the 5th February, 1777, I was appointed, with unlimited orders, to command a little squadron of the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence. Various important services were pointed out, but I was left at free liberty to make my election. That service, however, did not take place; for the Commodore, who had three of the squadron blocked in at Providence, affected to disbelieve my appointment, and would not at last give me the necessary assistance. Finding that he trifled with my applications as well as the orders of Congress, I undertook a journey from Boston to Philadelphia, in order to explain matters to Congress in person. I took this step also

because Captain Hinman had succeeded me in the command of the Alfred, and, of course, the service could not suffer through my absence. I arrived at Philadelphia in the beginning of April. But what was my surprise to find that, by a new line of navy-rank, which had taken place on the 10th day of October, 1776, all the officers that had stepped forth at the beginning were superseded! I was myself superseded by thirteen men, not one of whom did (and perhaps some of them durst not) take the sea against the British flag at the first; for several of them who were then applied to refused to venture,—and none of them have since been very happy in proving their superior abilities. Among these thirteen there are individuals who can neither pretend to parts nor education, and with whom, as a private gentleman, I would disdain to associate.

"I leave your Excellency and the Congress to judge how this must affect a man of honour and sensibility."

In the organization of the navy Jones took a paramount interest. He had himself been trained in a good school. He knew the importance of

proper subordination, and of the strict enforcement of a rigid system of discipline, which, however unpleasant to the turbulent, fierce spirit of republicans, is especially indispensable in the sea-service. His views of maritime policy discover much soundness, and, considering that he was still a young man, and a very young officer, very great ripeness of understanding. "As the regulations of the navy," he says, "are of the utmost consequence, you will not think it presumptive if, with the utmost diffidence, I venture to communicate to you such hints as, in my judgment, will promote its honour and good government. I could heartily wish that every commissioned officer were to be previously examined; for, to my certain knowledge, there are persons who have already crept into commission without abilities or fit qualifications:—I am myself far from desiring to be excused." In other letters on this subject, he eloquently recommends a liberal policy towards the private seamen, and a general system worthy of a great and enlightened nation.

"It is," he says, "to the last degree distressing

to contemplate the state and establishment of our navy. The common class of mankind are actuated by no nobler principle than that of self-interest. This, and this only, determines all adventures in privateers,—the owners, as well as those they employ; and while this is the case, unless the private emolument of individuals in our navy is made superior to that in privateers, it never can become respectable,—it never will become formidable; and, without a respectable navy, alas America!—In the present critical situation of human affairs, wisdom can suggest no more than one infallible expedient,—enlist the seamen during pleasure, and give them all the prizes. What is the paltry emolument of two-thirds of prizes to the finances of this vast continent? If so poor a resource is essential to its independency, in sober sadness we are involved in a woful predicament, and our ruin is fast approaching. The situation of America is new in the annals of mankind: her affairs cry *haste!* and speed must answer them. Trifles, therefore, ought to be wholly disregarded, as being, in the old vulgar proverb, 'penny wise and pound fool-

ish.' If our enemies, with the best-established and most formidable navy in the universe, have found it expedient to assign all prizes to the captors, how much more is such policy essential to our infant fleet? But I need use no arguments to convince you of the necessity of making the emoluments of our navy equal, if not superior, to theirs. We have had proof, that a navy may be officered almost upon any terms, but we are not so sure that these officers are equal to their commissions; nor will the Congress ever obtain such certainty until they, in their wisdom, see proper to appoint a Board of Admiralty, competent to determine impartially the respective merits and abilities of their officers, and to superintend, regulate, and point out all the motions and operations of the navy."

The appearance of Jones at Congress at this time, his appeals to their justice, his animated remonstrances, and the capacity displayed in the hints and projects he threw out, had a good effect. They inspired esteem for his character, and gave confidence in his ability. This became apparent in the immediate proceedings of that body.

" Congress," he says, " saw fit to drop the expedition that had been proposed; and the Marine Committee appeared very sorry that there was not then vacant a good ship for my command. Three ships were ordered to be purchased in the eastern department, and by a *resolve* of Congress, which did me great honour, I was authorized to take my choice of these three ships, ' until Congress could provide for me a better command.' I returned to Boston; and before this last plan was carried into execution, I received a new and honourable proof of the good opinion of Congress, by being ordered, on the 9th day of May, 1777, to proceed to France from Portsmouth, in the Amphitrite, with a positive order to the Commissioners at Paris ' to invest me with the command of a fine ship,'—' as a reward of my zeal and the signal services I had performed in vessels of little force.' This was generous indeed! and I shall feel the whole force of the obligation to the last moment of my life."

The letter he brought to Europe, addressed to the Commissioners in Paris, confirms the sincerity of the purpose of Congress. It also puts to

rest—were such refutation necessary—the charge of Jones being nothing more than the commander of a privateer, winked at, or perhaps secretly aided by Congress, but never recognised as a regularly-appointed commander in the American service during his cruises on the British coasts.

" Philadelphia, 9th May, 1777.

" Honourable Gentlemen,

" This letter is intended to be delivered to you by John Paul Jones, Esq., an active and brave commander in our navy, who has already performed signal services in vessels of little force; and in reward for his zeal we have directed him to go on board the Amphitrite, a French ship of twenty guns, that brought in a valuable cargo of stores from Mons. Hostalez & Co., and with her to repair to France. He takes with him his commission, some officers and men, so that we hope he will, under that sanction, make some good prizes with the Amphitrite; but our design of sending him is, (with the approbation of Congress) that you may purchase one of those fine frigates that Mr Deane writes us you can get,

and invest him with the command thereof as soon as possible. We hope you may not delay this business one moment, but purchase, in such port or place in Europe as it can be done with most convenience and despatch, a fine fast-sailing frigate or larger ship. Direct Captain Jones where he must repair to, and he will take with him his officers and men towards manning her. You will assign him some good house or agent to supply him with every thing necessary to get the ship speedily and well equipped and manned,—somebody that will bestir themselves vigorously in the business, and never quit it until it is accomplished.

"If you have any plan or service to be performed in Europe by such a ship, that you think will be more for the interest and honour of the States than sending her out directly, Captain Jones is instructed to obey your orders; and, to save repetition, let him lay before you the instructions we have given him, and furnish you with a copy thereof. You can then judge what will be necessary for you to direct him in,—and whatever you do will be approved, as it will un-

doubtedly tend to promote the public service of this country.

" You see by this step how much dependence Congress place in your advices; and you must make it a point not to disappoint Captain Jones's wishes and expectations on this occasion.

" We are, &c.

(Signed) " ROBERT MORRIS.
" RICHARD HENRY LEE.
" WM. WHIPPLE.
" PHIL. LIVINGSTON.

" The Honourable
" BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
" SILAS DEANE, and
" ARTHUR LEE, Esquires,
Commissioners," &c.

In Marine Committee.

" Philadelphia, May 9th, 1777.

" JOHN PAUL JONES, Esq.

" SIR,

" Congress have thought proper to authorize the Secret Committee to employ you on a voy-

age in the Amphitrite, from Portsmouth to Carolina and France, where it is expected you will be provided with a fine frigate; and as your present commission is for the command of a particular ship, we now send you a new one, whereby you are appointed a captain in our navy, and of course may command any ship in the service to which you are particularly ordered. You are to obey the orders of the Secret Committee, and we are, Sir, &c.

(Signed) "JOHN HANCOCK.
"ROB. MORRIS.
"WM. WHIPPLE."

In Marine Committee.

"Philadelphia, September 6th, 1777.

"SIR,

"As soon as these instructions get to hand, you are to make immediate application to the proper persons to get your vessel victualled and fitted for sea with all expedition. When this is done, you are to proceed on a voyage to some convenient port in France; on your arrival there,

apply to the agent, if any, in or near said port, for such supplies as you may stand in need of. You are at the same time to give immediate notice, by letter, to the Honourable Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, Esquires, or any of them at Paris, of your arrival, requesting their instructions as to your further destination; which instructions you are to obey as far as it shall be in your power.

"You are to take particular notice, that whilst on the coast of France, or in a French port, you are, as much as you conveniently can, to keep your guns covered and concealed, and to make as little warlike appearance as possible. Wishing you," &c. &c.

With these credentials and instructions, Jones sailed for Europe in command of the Ranger, in high spirits, expecting to be the first messenger of what he calls "the joyful and important news of Burgoyne's surrender." He reached Nantes early in December, having captured two brigantines on the voyage, laden with fruit and wine.

CHAPTER III.

It must be owned that Captain Jones at no time slipped any opportunity of bringing himself forward, and placing his services in a fair light. Though he indeed claimed no more than was his due, he never, through false delicacy, withdrew his merits into the shade. "It is civil cowardice," says the Spectator's modest friend, Captain Sentry, "to be backward in asserting what you ought to expect, as it is military fear to be slow in attacking when it is your duty." His first act, on reaching France, was to write to the Commissioners, to whom he was now to look for orders, and also for patronage. "I yesterday," he says, "enclosed you copies of two letters which I wrote you previous to my departure from Portsmouth, together with a plan which I drew up at Philadelphia, on the regulation and equipment of our infant navy. It is my first

and favourite wish to be employed in active and enterprising services, when there is a prospect of rendering acceptable services to America. The singular honour which Congress have done me by their generous acknowledgment of my past services, hath inspired me with sentiments of gratitude which I shall carry with me to my grave; and if a life of services devoted to America can be made instrumental in securing its independence, I shall regard the continuance of such approbation as an honour far superior to what kings even could bestow."

Captain Jones was immediately summoned to Paris by the Commissioners of Congress, Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. They had not yet assumed the name of plenipotentiaries, nor was war declared between Great Britain and France; for though these countries were in a state of understood, if not avowed, hostility, in his private orders from the Marine Committee of Congress, Jones was directed to keep his guns covered and concealed as much as possible while on the coasts or in the ports of France, and as much as possible to avoid a warlike appearance. The object of sum-

moning him to Paris was to concert, in conjunction with the Commissioners, a plan of operations for the powerful maritime force under the command of the Count d'Estaing, which—a treaty being now concluded between France and the new States—was destined to harass the British, and support the cause of the Republic on the shores of America.

The bold and sagacious plan of that campaign, which, if carried into effect as projected, must in all probability at once have ended the war, Jones repeatedly and openly claims the merit of having formed;* and there can be no doubt that his knowledge of the actual state of the British land and naval force then acting in America, and his practical nautical acquaintance with the scene of

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* In the memorial to the King of France, Jones states that the plan adopted for D'Estaing's expedition was sent *by him* to the Commissioners from Nantes, on the 10th February, 1778, after he had returned from Paris, and immediately on hearing some agreeable news from America.

operation, enabled him to give most important advice. Those delays, and the baffling circumstances to which naval armaments are ever exposed, together, as has been alleged, with the timidity or irresolution of the French Commander, the promptitude and courage displayed by Lord Howe, and the excellent spirit of the whole British fleet on that memorable occasion, disconcerted this well-imagined scheme. In claiming the plan of that expedition, Jones says, in a letter addressed to the French Minister of Marine, M. de Sartine,—"Had Count d'Estaing arrived in the Delaware a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many successful projects may be adopted from the hints which I had the honour to draw up; and if I can still furnish more, or execute any of these already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest pleasure." Before d'Estaing appeared, however, Lord Howe, as has been noticed, had been able to place the fleet and the transports in safety; and the plan on which the American Commissioners justly

prided themselves of blocking up the British ships, transports, and victuallers, in the Delaware, thus fell to the ground.

When Jones went to Paris to attend the Commissioners, he left the Ranger, which had been damaged in her voyage, refitting at Nantes. To the Commissioners he imparted plans of various enterprises to be undertaken in the bold predatory spirit of the private instructions of Morris, and he induced them to hold out to his crew, in the name of Congress, the hope or promise of some particular gratuity in reward of the "good, gallant behaviour and punctual obedience," so essential to the furtherance of his daring projects. In coming to Europe he expected to obtain command of the *Indien*, a large frigate, then building at Amsterdam, for the service of the United States. This vessel the Commissioners thought fit to present to the King of France. Jones felt the disappointment, and even complained of it to Congress, making it an argument for obtaining at least an equivalent command.

On the 16th January, 1778, Jones received his orders from the Commissioners. They were such

as ever proved the most agreeable to him—unlimited—implying full confidence in his zeal and ability. The only caution he received, was, not to return *immediately* to the ports of France after making an attempt on the coasts of Britain, as the French court wished to shuffle a little longer.

The Ranger being now refitted, Jones sailed to Quiberon, and at that place displayed considerable professional address and characteristic firmness, in compelling the French Admiral to give the American flag—which Jones had been the first to hoist—the first salute it ever received. It was thus he wrote on this occasion :—

" February 14th, 1778.

" Dear Sir,

" I am extremely sorry to give you fresh trouble, but I think the Admiral's answer of yesterday requires an explanation. The haughty English return gun for gun to foreign officers of equal rank, and two less only to captains by flag-officers. It is true, my command at present is not important, yet, as the senior American officer at present in Europe, it is my duty to claim an equal

return of respect to the flag of the United States that would be shown to any other flag whatever.

" I therefore take the liberty of enclosing an appointment, perhaps as respectable as any which the French Admiral can produce—besides which I have others in my possession.

" If, however, he persists in refusing to return an equal salute, I will accept of two guns less, as I have not the rank of Admiral.

" It is my opinion, that he would return four less to a privateer or a merchant ship ; therefore, as I have been honoured oftener than once with a chief command of ships of war, I cannot in honour accept of the same terms of respect.

" You will singularly oblige me by waiting upon the Admiral; and I ardently hope you will succeed in the application, else I shall be under a necessity of departing without coming into the bay. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

" To William Carmichael, Esq."

" N.B.—Though thirteen guns is your greatest salute in America, yet if the French Admiral

should prefer a greater number, he has his choice, *on conditions*."

Of the triumphant recognition of the American flag obtained in the first instance by him, Jones was naturally very proud. "I am happy," he says, addressing the Marine Committee at home, "in having it in my power to congratulate you on my having seen the American flag recognised in the fullest and completest manner by the flag of France." And he relates how he accomplished this object.

On the 10th of April Jones sailed from Brest on that cruise which the assault on Whitehaven, the landing at the Earl of Selkirk's, and the capture of the Drake, afterwards rendered so celebrated. The account of that expedition will be best given in his own words. It is, however, worthy of notice, that the original log-book of the Ranger, and of his more famous ship, the Bon Homme Richard, which are now accidentally in the hands of gentlemen in Scotland wholly unconnected with Captain Jones, generally corroborate all his statements to the most minute particulars. It is thus his account commences:—

" I have now to fulfil the promise made in my last, by giving you an account of my late expedition.

" I sailed from Brest the 10th of April; my plan was extensive, I therefore did not at the beginning wish to encumber myself with prisoners. On the 14th I took a brigantine between Scilly and Cape Clear, bound for Ostend, with a cargo of flax-seed for Ireland—sunk her, and proceeded into St George's Channel.

" On the 17th I took the ship Lord Chatham, bound from London to Dublin, with a cargo consisting of porter, and a variety of merchandise, and almost within sight of her port; this ship I manned and ordered for Brest.

" Towards the evening of the day following the weather had a promising appearance, and, the wind being favourable, I stood over from the Isle of Man with an intention to make a descent at Whitehaven; at ten I was off the harbour with a party of volunteers, and had every thing in readiness to land; but before eleven the wind greatly increased and shifted, so as to blow directly upon the shore; the sea increased of course, and

it became impossible to effect a landing. This obliged me to carry all possible sail so as to clear the land, and to await a more favourable opportunity.

" On the 18th, in Glentinebay, on the south coast of Scotland, I met with a revenue wherry ; it being the common practice of these vessels to board merchant ships, the Ranger then having no external appearance of war, it was expected that this rover would have come alongside; I was, however, mistaken, for though the men were at their quarters, yet this vessel out-sailed the Ranger, and got clear in spite of a severe cannonade.

" The next morning, off the Mull of Galloway, I found myself so near a Scotch coasting schooner, loaded with barley, that I could not avoid sinking her. Understanding that there were ten or twelve sail of merchant ships, besides a Tender brigantine, with a number of impressed men on board, at anchor in Lochryan, in Scotland, I thought this an enterprise worthy my attention; but the wind, which at the first would have served equally well to have sailed in or out of the Loch, shifted in a hard squall, so as to

blow almost directly in, with an appearance of bad weather. I was therefore obliged to abandon my project.

" Seeing a cutter off the lee-bow steering for the Clyde, I gave chase, in hopes of cutting her off; but finding my endeavours ineffectual, I pursued no farther than the Rock of Ailsa. In the evening I fell in with a sloop from Dublin, which I sunk, to prevent intelligence.

" The next day, the 21st, being near Carrickfergus, a fishing-boat came off, which I detained. I saw a ship at anchor in the road, which I was informed by the fishermen was the British ship-of-war Drake, of twenty guns. I determined to attack her in the night; my plan was to overlay her cable, and to fall upon her bow, so as to have all her decks open and exposed to our musquetry, &c.; at the same time, it was my intention to have secured the enemy by grapplings, so that, had they cut their cables, they would not thereby have attained an advantage. The wind was high, and unfortunately the anchor was not let go so soon as the order was given, so that the Ranger was brought to upon the enemy's quar-

ter at the distance of half a cable's length. We had made no warlike appearance, of course had given no alarm; this determined me to cut immediately, which might appear as if the cable had parted, and at the same time enable me, after making a tack out of the Loch, to return with the same prospect of advantage which I had at the first. I was, however, prevented from returning, as I with difficulty weathered the light-house on the lee-side of the Loch, and as the gale increased. The weather now became so very stormy and severe, and the sea ran so high, that I was obliged to take shelter under the south shore of Scotland.

"The 22d introduced fair weather, though the three kingdoms were, as far as the eye could reach, covered with snow. I now resolved once more to attempt Whitehaven; but the wind became very light, so that the ship would not in proper time approach so near as I had intended. At midnight I left the ship with two boats and thirty-one volunteers; when we reached the outer pier the day began to dawn; I would not, however, abandon my enterprise, but despatched one

boat under the direction of Mr Hill and Lieutenant Wallingsford, with the necessary combustibles to set fire to the shipping on the north side of the harbour, while I went with the other party to attempt the south side. I was successful in scaling the walls and spiking up all the cannon on the first fort; finding the sentinels shut up in the guard-house, they were secured without being hurt. Having fixed sentinels, I now took with me one man only, (Mr Green,) and spiked up all the cannon on the southern fort, distant from the other a quarter of a mile.

"On my return from this business, I naturally expected to see the fire of the ships on the north side, as well as to find my own party with everything in readiness to set fire to the shipping on the south; instead of this, I found the boat under the direction of Mr Hill and Mr Wallingsford returned, and the party in some confusion, their light having burnt out at the instant when it became necessary.*

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* Jones did not soon surmount the disappointment occasioned by this misunderstanding on the part of his

" By the strangest fatality, my own party were in the same situation, the candles being all

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officers. In a memorial to Congress, he says, " My first object was to secure an exchange of prisoners in Europe, and my second to put an end, by one good fire in England *of shipping*, to all the burnings in America. I succeeded in the first, even by means far more glorious than my most flattering ideas had expected when I left France. In the second I endeavoured to deserve success ; but a wise officer of mine observed, that ' it was a rash thing, and that nothing could *be got* by burning poor people's property.' I must, however, do him the justice to mention his acknowledgment, that he had no turn for enterprise ; and I must also do equal justice to my former officers in the Providence and the Alfred, by declaring, that had they been with me in the Ranger, two hundred and fifty, or three hundred sail of large ships at Whitehaven would have been laid in ashes." In answer to certain queries on this subject, proposed by the Board of Admiralty in 1781, he says, " I made a descent at Whitehaven with thirty men only, surprised and took two strong forts with thirty pieces of cannon, and set fire to the shipping where they lay, 300 or upwards, in the dry pier. That both the shipping and the town, containing from 40 to 50,000 inhabitants, was not burned, was owing to the backwardness of some persons under my command."

burnt out. The day too came on apace, yet I would by no means retreat while any hopes of success remained. Having again placed sentinels, a light was obtained at a house disjoined from the town, and fire was kindled in the steerage of a large ship, which was surrounded by at least an hundred and fifty others, chiefly from two to four hundred tons burthen, and lying side by side, aground, unsurrounded by the water.

" There were, besides, from seventy to an hundred large ships in the north arm of the harbour, aground, clear of the water, and divided from the rest only by a stone pier of a ship's height. I should have kindled fires in other places if the time had permitted; as it did not, our care was to prevent the one kindled from being easily extinguished. After some search, a barrel of tar was found, and poured into the flames, which now ascended from all the hatchways. The inhabitants began to appear in thousands, and individuals ran hastily towards us. I stood between them and the ship on fire, with a pistol in my hand, and ordered them to retire, which they did with pre-

cipitation. The flames had already caught the rigging, and began to ascend the main-mast; the sun was a full hour's march above the horizon, and as sleep no longer ruled the world, it was time to retire. We re-embarked without opposition, having released a number of prisoners, as our boats could not carry them. After all my people had embarked, I stood upon the pier for a considerable space, yet no person advanced: I saw all the eminences round the town covered with the amazed inhabitants.

" When we had rowed to a considerable distance from the shore, the English began to run in vast numbers to their forts; their disappointment may easily be imagined when they found, I suppose, at least thirty heavy cannon (the instruments of their vengeance) rendered useless. At length, however, they began to fire, having, as I apprehend, either brought down ships' guns, or used one or two cannon which lay on the beach at the foot of the walls, dismounted, and which had not been spiked. They fired with no direction, and the shot falling short of the boats, instead of doing us any damage, afforded some di-

version, which my people could not help showing, by discharging their pistols, &c. in return of the salute.

" Had it been possible to have landed a few hours sooner, success would have been complete; not a single ship out of more than two hundred could possibly have escaped, and all the world would not have been able to save the town; what was done, however, is sufficient to show that not all their boasted navy can protect their own coasts, and that the scenes of distress which they have occasioned in America may soon be brought home to their own doors. One of my people was missing, and must, I fear, have fallen into the enemy's hands after our departure.* I was pleased that in this business we neither killed nor

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* In the Ranger's log-book this man is named David Smith. He is probably the same person who, under the name of Freeman, gave information at several houses in a street adjoining the piers, that fire had been set to a ship, and afterwards other information that appears substantially correct. He must have remained on shore voluntarily.

wounded. I brought off three prisoners as a sample."

Jones has been severely censured, even by those who are willing to allow him merited praise in other respects, for his descent on Whitehaven, and St Mary's Isle,—as the seat of Lord Selkirk is named. The wanton burnings and destruction of private property on the coasts of America must have been sufficiently irritating, and must have naturally provoked a spirit of retaliation; still the bulk of mankind must join in opinion with his cautious lieutenant, that "nothing was to *be got* by burning poor people's property,"—and with the biographer of Jones in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, who truly states, that "there is something revolting in the idea of a man's deliberately stifling all his early associations, and availing himself of his familiar acquaintance with the place of his youthful enjoyments, to effect its destruction." Our feelings refuse to move in sympathy with this new-born vehement zeal felt by a man against that native land in which his mother, sisters, and relatives, were then living in peace and se-

curity. That young Paul had in boyhood imbibed an enthusiastic attachment to America, from the conversation of discontented seamen trading to the colonies, which has been urged in extenuation of the part he chose, is a mere gratuitous assumption. At the period of his boyhood there was no existing discontent which reached his class of society; and up to the time of his entering the American navy, he might in all probability, with equal good-will, have accepted a commission under his native sovereign. He was influenced by fortuitous circumstances; but, once fairly engaged in the service of the United States, he devoted himself to his new country with unshaken zeal and incorruptible integrity.

Besides the questionable nature of the assault on Whitehaven, in a private or abstract view, from a man circumstanced as was Jones, there is a startling discrepancy, a degree of exaggeration, and an air of rhodomontade, about all his accounts of that affair.

In all the contemporary accounts of the attempt on Whitehaven, and capture of the Drake, the Ranger is termed a privateer. This is a mis-

take; she was a ship of war belonging to the United States, and Jones was appointed her commander by a resolution of Congress on the 14th of June, 1777. The character of this vessel was, however, certainly anomalous in any regular navy. Her commander acted alone and single-handed; and such was his temper and the nature of the service for which he seemed most fitted, that he uniformly succeeded best when acting thus on his own judgment and responsibility, and never wholly failed, save in those combined operations where his opinions were opposed or fettered. With the unlimited command of the Ranger, and small as his force was, he determined to prove to France and America what, with adequate means placed at his disposal, he might achieve. But it is time to return to the narrative of this cruise, which resembled more the bold exploits of Morgan or Lolonnois than the operations of modern nautical warfare.

"We now stood over for the Scotch shore, and landed at noon on St Mary's Isle, with one boat only, and a very small party, (twelve men.) The motives which induced me to land there are ex-

plained in the within copy of a letter* which I have written to the Countess of Selkirk.

" On the morning of the 24th I was again off Carrickfergus, and would have gone in had I not seen the Drake preparing to come out; it was very moderate, and the Drake's boat was sent out to reconnoitre the Ranger. As the boat advanced I kept the ship's stern directly towards her, and, though they had a spy-glass in the boat, they came on within hail, and alongside. When the officer came on the quarter-deck, he was greatly surprised to find himself a prisoner !—although *an express had arrived from Whitehaven the night before.* I now understood what I had before imagined, that the Drake came out in consequence of this information with volunteers against the Ranger. The officer told me also, that they had taken up the Ranger's anchor.

" The Drake was attended by five small vessels full of people, who were led by motives of curiosity to see an engagement; but when they discovered the Drake's boat at the Ranger's stern

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* See page 87.

they wisely put back. Alarm-smokes now appeared in great abundance, extending along both sides of the channel. The tide was unfavourable, so that the Drake worked out but slowly. This obliged me to run down several times, and to lay with courses up, and main-topsail to the mast. At length the Drake weathered the point, and having led her out to about mid-channel, I suffered her to come within hail. The Drake hoisted English colours, and at the same instant the American stars were displayed on board the Ranger. I expected that preface had been now at an end; but the enemy soon after hailed, demanding what ship it was. I directed the master to answer, the American continental ship Ranger; that we waited for them, and desired they would come on. The sun was now little more than an hour from setting, it was therefore time to begin. The Drake being rather astern of the Ranger, I ordered the helm up, and gave her the first broadside. The action was warm, close, and obstinate; it lasted an hour and five minutes, when the enemy called for quarters, her fore and main-top-sail yards being both cut away, and

down on the cap; the fore-top-gallant-yard and mizen-gaff both hanging up and down along the mast; the second ensign which they had hoisted shot away, and hanging over the quarter-gallery, in the water; the jib shot away, and hanging into the water; her sails and rigging entirely cut to pieces, her masts and yards all wounded, and her hull also very much galled.

"I lost only Lieutenant Wallingsford, and one seaman (John Dongal) killed, and six wounded, among whom are the gunner, (Mr Falls,) and Mr Powers, a midshipman, who lost his arm. One of the wounded (Nathaniel Wills) is since dead; the rest will recover.

"The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was far greater. All the prisoners allow that they came out with a number not less than an hundred and sixty men, and many of them affirm that they amounted to an hundred and ninety; the medium may perhaps be the most exact account, and by that it will appear that they lost in killed and wounded forty-two men.*

* This loss is stated by the other party at twenty-two.

"The captain and lieutenant were among the wounded: the former, having received a musket-ball in the head the minute before they called for quarters, lived and was sensible for some time after my people boarded the prize; the lieutenant survived two days. They were buried with the honours due to their rank, and with the respect due to their memory.

"The night, and almost the whole day after the action, being moderate, greatly facilitated the refitting of the ships. A large brigantine ran so near the Drake in the afternoon, that I was obliged to bring her to: she belonged to Whitehaven, and was bound to Norway.

"I had thoughts of returning by the south channel, but the wind shifting, I determined to pass by the north, and round the west coast of Ireland: this brought me once more off Belfast Loch on the evening of the day after the engagement.

"It was now time to release the honest Irishmen whom I took here on the 21st; and as the poor fellows had lost their boat, she having sunk in the late stormy weather, I was happy in hav-

ing it in my power to give them the necessary sum to purchase every thing new which they had lost; I gave them also a good boat to transport themselves ashore, and sent with them two infirm men, on whom I had bestowed the last guinea in my possession, to defray their travelling expenses to their proper home at Dublin. They took with them one of the Drake's sails, which would sufficiently explain what had happened to the volunteers. The grateful Irishmen were enraptured, and expressed their joy in three huzzas as they passed the Ranger's quarter."

On the 26th April, Captain Jones placed Lieutenant Simpson under suspension and arrest; and on the 8th May he re-entered Brest roads, having been absent only twenty-eight days.*

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* The worthy and cautious citizens of Aberdeen were the only persons greatly alarmed on this occasion. In the Scots Magazine for May, 1778, we find the following paragraph:—

"On receiving at Aberdeen intelligence of the plunder of Lord Selkirk's house and the landing at Whitehaven, a hand-bill was circulated by order of the Ma-

If the American plenipotentiaries were gratified by the success of this expedition, the Court of Versailles was still more delighted. France was now on the very eve of war. The plenipotentiaries of the United States had been publicly received at Versailles a month before—the treaty had been signed—and D'Estaing's squadron was ready for sea. The French ambassador had been ordered to leave London, and by the famous engagement between the Arethusa and La Belle Poule the first blow had been struck. In England the nation, much divided on the policy of the unsuccessful war with the colonies, were for the first time united in feelings of hostility to the "ancient foe," and of indignation at the insidious

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gistrates, to set on foot an association of the inhabitants for defence, and in a few days 120 were enrolled."

The affair never went farther. Another American vessel, which landed a party, and plundered the house of Mr Gordon, near Banff, must have quickened their apprehensions; but no alarm was seriously felt till the squadron of Paul Jones appeared in the frith of Forth. Even then the panic was short-lived.

policy of the court of Versailles. The most active preparations were going on throughout the whole of the three kingdoms. All the winter and spring, in anticipation of a war with France, volunteer corps, defensive bands, and fencible regiments, had been raising; the navy was hastily augmented; addresses were sent from all quarters of the country; and the bulk of the nation was animated by the most ardent spirit of loyalty.

The first leisure of Captain Jones on arriving at Brest was employed in writing his celebrated letter to the Countess of Selkirk. His conduct throughout the whole of this delicate affair, though certainly on his part the spontaneous impulse of elevated feeling, was also good policy, as the descent on St Mary's Isle, which ultimately redounded to his honour, was liable to much misrepresentation. The explanatory chivalrous epistle to the Countess of Selkirk has been often talked of. It represents the character of the writer in a new and certainly not unpleasing light. How seldom does the romance of real life exist till the age of thirty!

But however romantic one class of the feel-

ings of Jones might be, awakened and softened by his visit to the scenes of his boyhood, under circumstances so extraordinary, he was still much more at home in drawing up a clear memorial of his proceedings for Congress, or in bringing *to* a tardy and shuffling minister, than in addressing high-born dames. Though he had been a few weeks in Paris, the airs of a carpet-knight still sat awkwardly upon him, and his letter evinces more right feeling than good taste or knowledge of lady-life. But Franklin, the republican sage, to whom the epistle was enclosed, says, "It is a gallant letter, which must give her Ladyship a high and just opinion of your generosity and nobleness of mind;"—and he was right. The matter was admirable, whatever might be the faults of style. Had the same generous spirit of hostility been displayed throughout, how much of human misery, wantonly inflicted, might have been spared,—how much of that bitterness of feeling engendered between countries having in common so many powerful bonds of alliance might have been prevented!

" Ranger, Brest, 8th May, 1778.

" MADAM,

" It cannot be too much lamented, that, in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feelings and real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command which his heart cannot approve; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such acts by his authority.

" This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's interest with the King, and esteeming, as I do, his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war.

" It was, perhaps, fortunate for you, Madam, that he was from home; for it was my intention to have taken him on board the Ranger, and to have detained him, until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected. When

I was informed by some men whom I met at landing, that his Lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers, who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent, observing that, in America, no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of moveable property, setting fire, not only to towns and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milch-cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me the same morning at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your Ladyship the least injury. I charged the officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt anything about it; to treat you, Madam, with the utmost respect; to accept of the plate which was offered, and to come away without making a search, or demanding anything else.

"I am induced to believe that I was punc-

tually obeyed, since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men; and, when the plate is sold, I shall become the purchaser, and will gratify my own feelings by restoring it to you by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

" Had the Earl been on board the Ranger the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea-engagement; both affording ample subject for the pencil as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back from such scenes of horror, and cannot sufficiently execrate the vile promoters of this detestable war—

' For *they*, 'twas *they*, unsheathed the ruthless blade,
' And Heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.'

" The British ship of war Drake, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, was our opponent. The ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side for an hour and four minutes, when the gallant commander of the

Drake fell, and victory declared in favour of the Ranger. The amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded,—a melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects, and of the sad reverse of fortune which an hour can produce. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honours due to the memory of the brave.

" Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot ensure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little, mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart, and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war began I had at the early time of life withdrawn from the sea-service in favour of ' calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of

the heart and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good-will among mankind.

" As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you, Madam, to use your persuasive art with your husband's to endeavour to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which Britain can never succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practice of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated on Britain by a justly-enraged people. Should you fail in this, (for I am persuaded that you will attempt it, and who can resist the power of such an advocate?) your endeavours to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity which will afford you golden feelings on a death-bed.

" I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but should it continue, I wage no war with the fair. I acknowledge their force, and bend before it with submission. Let not, therefore, the amia-

ble Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing, consistent with my duty, to merit it.

"The honour of a line from your hand in answer to this will lay me under a singular obligation; and if I can render you any acceptable service in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of reserve.

"I wish to know exactly the behaviour of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty. I have the honour to be, with much esteem and with profound respect, Madam, &c. &c.

"JOHN PAUL JONES.

"To the COUNTESS of SELKIRK."

It afterwards cost Jones much more trouble than he could have calculated upon to redeem the promise here given to the Countess of Selkirk. Once in the harpy claws of commissaries and prize-agents, it required all his energy, activity, and disinterestedness, to wrest the plate

from them, even by paying, he says, "more than the value." It was valued and re-valued, and occasioned more trouble and expense than it was intrinsically worth, had not Jones conceived his honour pledged for its safe restoration.

Jones found a useful auxiliary in this affair in Father John, an Irish priest, the chaplain of Count D'Orvilliers, who then commanded a fleet lying off Brest, and whom he had already made his friend. So justly provoked was he about this affair; and the sordid spirit of the agents, that, in the very temper of Hotspur, we find him exclaiming, "I will not abate the thousandth part of a *sol* of three-twentieths of prizes, which no man in America ever presumed to dispute as being my just and proper right, and which no rascal in Europe shall presume to dispute with impunity! To whom, since I was myself Commander-in-Chief, would that old fool decree the three-twentieths? Perhaps to his dear self, who is puffed up with the idea of his right to secure 'the property of captures?'"

Though the plate came into the possession of Jones in 1780, it was nearly five years before he

was able to return it to the owner. It was lodged with a friend during his absence in America; and in writing to Lord Selkirk in 1784, after the peace, he takes occasion to make a new avowal of the views and sentiments on which he had acted during the war:—

"Paris, February 12th, 1784.

"My Lord,

"I have just received a letter from Mr Nesbitt, dated at L'Orient the 4th instant, mentioning a letter to him from your son, Lord Daer, on the subject of the plate that was taken from your house by some of my people when I commanded the Ranger, and has been for a long time past in Mr Nesbitt's care. A short time before I left France to return to America, Mr W. Alexander wrote me from Paris to L'Orient, that he had, at my request, seen and conversed with your Lordship in England respecting the plate. He said you had agreed that I should restore it, and that it might be forwarded to the care of your sister-in-law, the Countess of Morton, in London. In consequence I now send orders to Mr Nesbitt to forward the plate immediately to her care.

When I received Mr Alexander's letter, there was no cartel or other vessel at L'Orient, that I could trust with a charge of so delicate a nature as your plate, and I had great reason to expect I should return to France within six months after I embarked for America; but circumstances in America prevented my returning to Europe during the war, though I had constant expectation of it. The long delay that has happened to the restoration of your plate has given me much concern, and I now feel a proportionate pleasure in fulfilling what was my first intention. My motive for landing at your estate in Scotland was to take *you* as an hostage for the lives and liberty of a number of the citizens of America, who had been taken in war on the ocean, and committed to British prisons, under an act of parliament, as *traitors*, *pirates*, and *felons*. You observed to Mr Alexander, that 'my idea was a mistaken one, because you were not (as I had supposed) in favour with the British ministry, who knew that *you favoured the cause of liberty*.' On that account I am glad that you were absent from your estate when I landed there, as I bore

no personal enmity, but the contrary, towards you. I afterwards had the happiness to redeem my fellow-citizens from Britain, by means far more glorious than through the medium of any single hostage.

" As I have endeavoured to serve the cause of liberty, through every stage of the American revolution, and sacrificed to it my private ease, a part of my fortune, and some of my blood, I could have no selfish motive in permitting my people to demand and carry off your plate. My sole inducement was to turn their attention and stop their rage from breaking out, and retaliating on your house and effects the *too wanton* burnings and desolation that had been committed against their relations and fellow-citizens in America by the British; of which, I assure you, you would have felt the severe consequences had I not fallen on an expedient to prevent it, and hurried my people away before they had time for farther reflection. As you were so obliging as to say to Mr Alexander, that ' *my people behaved with great decency at your house*,' I ask the favour of you to announce that circumstance to the public.

"I am, my Lord, wishing you always perfect freedom and happiness," &c. &c.

"PAUL JONES."

The answer that Jones received next year from the Earl was some indemnification for his trouble and anxiety:—

"London, 4th August, 1785.

"SIR,

"I received the letter you wrote me at the time you sent off my plate, in order for restoring it. Had I known where to direct a letter to you at the time it arrived in Scotland, I would have then wrote to you; but not knowing it, nor finding that any of my acquaintance at Edinburgh knew it, I was obliged to delay writing till I came here, when, by means of a gentleman connected with America, I was told Mr Le Grand was your banker at Paris, and would take proper care of a letter for you; therefore I enclose this to him.

"Notwithstanding all the precautions you took for the easy and uninterrupted conveyance of the plate, yet it met with considerable delays, first at Calais, next at Dover, then at London. How-

ever, it at last arrived at Dumfries, and, I dare say, quite safe, though as yet I have not seen it, being then at Edinburgh. I intended to have put an article in the newspapers about your having returned it; but before I was informed of its being arrived, some of your friends, I suppose, had put it in the Dumfries newspaper, whence it was immediately copied into the Edinburgh papers, and thence into the London ones.

" Since that time I have mentioned it to many people of fashion; and on all occasions, Sir, both now and formerly, I have done you the justice to tell, that you made an offer of returning the plate very soon after your return to Brest, and although you yourself were not at my house, but remained at the shore with your boat, that yet you had your officers and men in such extraordinary good discipline, that you having given them the strictest orders to behave well, to do no injury of any kind, to make no search, but only to bring off what plate was given them; that in reality they did exactly as ordered, and that not one man offered to stir from his post, on the outside of the house, nor entered the doors, nor said

an uncivil word; that the two officers stood not a quarter of an hour in the parlour and butler's pantry while the butler got the plate together; behaved politely, and asked for nothing but the plate, and instantly marched their men off in regular order; and that both officers and men behaved in all respects so well, that it would have done credit to the best-disciplined troops whatever. Some of the English newspapers at that time having put in confused accounts of your expedition to *Whitehaven* and Scotland, I ordered a proper one of what happened in Scotland to be put in the London newspapers, by a gentleman who was then at my house, by which the good conduct and civil behaviour of your officers and men were done justice to, and attributed to your orders, and the good discipline you maintained over your people.

"I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SELKIRK."

The plate was returned exactly as it had been taken away; even the tea leaves, it is said, remained in the tea-pot.

CHAPTER IV.

The success of Jones, and the temporary vogue into which it raised him at the court of France on his return to Brest, did not free him from many embarrassments. To provide for his crew, to secure the two hundred prisoners he had brought in, and to obtain a new command for himself, all occupied and distracted his attention at the same time. The dilatoriness or cupidity of the prize-agents, and the straitened funds at the disposal of the Commissioners, excited open discontents among the seamen,—who, after their exertions, saw themselves neglected and forgotten, and even in want of the common necessaries of food and clothing. Captain Jones had now obtained the right of speaking out, and also of being heard; and he used his newly-acquired influence with equal anxiety for the comfort of his own men, and of the sick, the wounded, and pri-

soners whom the fortune of war had placed at his mercy.

Before quitting America, Jones had, under the sanction of the Marine Committee, made himself accountable to his crew for the regular payment of their wages. With this circumstance Mr Lee, one of the Commissioners, who afterwards gave both of his own colleagues much trouble, was acquainted; yet he concurred with those who were in ignorance of this arrangement in dishonouring the draft which Jones made on the Commissioners on his return to Brest, under circumstances which should have compelled them to attend to his wants, in humanity and good policy as well as justice. "I was left," he says, "with two hundred prisoners of war, a number of sick and wounded, an almost naked crew, and a ship, after a severe engagement, in want of stores and provisions, from the 9th May till the 13th of June, destitute of any public support." "To make me completely wretched," he says, on another occasion, "M. de Bersolle has told me that he now stops his hand, not only of the necessary articles

to refit the ship, but also of the *daily provisions*. I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths that depend on me for food. Are the continental ships of war to depend on the sale of their prizes for a daily dinner to their men? Publish it not in Gath!"

But from all these pressing difficulties Jones contrived to extricate himself with little aid, in the first instance, from the harassed Commissioners, who, at this time, had their hands full of business, and their purses empty of money.

Shortly afterwards we find Captain Jones interfering to protect his prisoners from the rapacity of the persons who were intrusted with supplying their wants. By his exertions and credit with the French government and its functionaries, he had already ensured their safe custody in order to an exchange,—an object for which Franklin was now negotiating, and which at all times was one of prime importance to Jones, as appears on the face of his whole correspondence. The letter enclosing the memorial of his prisoners is very creditable to his feelings.

"The fellow," he says, "who holds the rod over their wretched heads, has menaced them 'if they dare to complain,' and would have intercepted their memorial, had I not prevented it. This RIOU is the scoundrel who, by his falsehood, promoted discord in the Ranger, and got the deluded people to appoint him their particular agent. Before that time he never could call twenty louis his own,—and he is now too rich for his former profession of King's interpreter. He does not deny that he is a scoundrel, for so I have called him more than once before witnesses, and so every person of sense thinks him at Brest. If the exchange of prisoners does not take place immediately, I conceive it would be the most eligible method to have the people on board the Patience landed. They are convinced that if you should think fit to return them an answer, it will never come to their hands through the means of any person who calls himself an agent at Brest, and they having full confidence in the honour and humanity of Father John, professor of English, and chaplain to Comte D'Orvilliers at Brest, have desired me to inform you, that through that gen-

tleman they beg you to favour them with an answer. In granting their request you will confer a very singular obligation on me."

Though Jones had just cause of anger in the hardship and indignity to which he was exposed by the Commissioners dishonouring his drafts, and in the conduct of the prize-agents, and the discontents which in consequence arose among his crew, who naturally all looked to him for justice, if not reward, he was cheered by many marks of private friendship and esteem. The Comte D'Orvilliers, Commander-in-Chief at Brest, showed him the utmost kindness, untinctured by any of that professional jealousy with which he was afterwards regarded by the horde of inferior officers of the French navy. The Duc de Chartres seemed friendly; and, above all, the wise and venerable Franklin, who, from first to last, appears to have appreciated his character, proved a friend as steady as he was judicious.

Jones had not been three weeks in Brest when Franklin wrote him, congratulating him on his late success, and proposing another expedition. "The Jersey privateers," he says, "do us a great

deal of mischief by intercepting our supplies. It has been mentioned to me, that your small vessel, commanded by so brave an officer, might render great service, by following them where greater ships dare not venture their bottoms; or, being accompanied and supported by some frigates from Brest, at a proper distance, might draw them out and then take them. I wish you to consider of this, as it comes from *high authority.*"

To be made the decoy-duck of French frigates could not be peculiarly agreeable to a man whose first and vehement object at all times was "a separate command," "unlimited orders," and to be his "own counsellor." Yet in reply he says, "Nothing could give me more pleasure than to render essential service to America in any way which you may find expedient." He then hints his desire of still obtaining the command of the ship building at Amsterdam. "I demand nothing," he adds, "and though I know that it was the intention of Congress to give me that ship, I am now ready to go wherever the service calls me." "If two or three fast-sailing ships could be collected together, there is a great choice of

private enterprises that I can name, some of which might effectually succeed, and would be far more for the interest and honour of America than cruising with twice the force. It appears to me to be the province of our infant navy to surprise and spread alarms with fast-sailing ships. When we grow stronger we can meet their [the British] fleets, and dispute with them the sovereignty of the ocean."

These plans and speculations were forgotten in the more dazzling prospects which the following letter from Franklin opened to Jones; though what at first promised so fair, afterwards became to him the source of much trouble and vexation :—

(Private.)

" Dear Sir,

" I have the pleasure of informing you, that it is proposed to give you the command of the great ship we have built at Amsterdam. By what you wrote to us formerly, I have ventured to say in your behalf, that this proposition would be agreeable to you. You will immediately let me know

your resolution; which, that you may be more clear in taking, I must inform you of some circumstances. She is at present the property of the King; but as there is no war yet declared, you will have the commission and flag of the States, and act under their orders and laws. The Prince de Nassau will make the cruise with you. She is to be brought here under cover as a French merchantman, to be equipped and manned in France. We hope to exchange your prisoners for as many American sailors; but if that fails, you have your present crew to be made up here with other nations and French. The other Commissioners are not acquainted with this proposition as yet; and you see by the nature of it, that it is necessary to be kept a secret till we have got the vessel here, for fear of difficulties in Holland, and interception; you will therefore direct your answer to me alone. It being desired that the affair should rest between you and me, perhaps it may be best for you to take a trip up here to concert matters, if in general you approve the idea.

" I was much pleased with reading your journal, which we received yesterday."

A few days after this, Franklin had this affair so well matured as to write again in the following terms :—

" Passy, June 10th, 1778.

" Dear Sir,

" I received yours of 1st instant, with the papers enclosed, which I have shown to the other Commissioners, but have not yet had their opinion of them ; only I know that they had before (in consideration of the disposition and uneasiness of your people) expressed an inclination to order your ship directly back to America. You will judge from what follows, whether it will not be advisable *for you to propose* their sending her back with her people, and under some other command. In consequence of the high opinion the Minister of the Marine has of your conduct and bravery, it is now settled (observe, that is to be a secret between us, I being expressly enjoined not to communicate it to any other person,)

that you are to have the frigate from Holland, which actually belongs to government, and will be furnished with as many good French seamen as you shall require. But you are to act under Congress commission. As you may like to have a number of Americans, and your own are home-sick, it is proposed to give you as many as you can engage out of two hundred prisoners, which the ministry of Britain have at length agreed to give us in exchange for those you have in your hands. They propose to make the exchange at Calais, where they are to bring the Americans. Nothing is wanting to this but a list of yours, containing their names and rank; immediately on the receipt of which an equal number are to be prepared, and sent in a ship to that port, where yours are to meet them.

"If by this means you can get a good new crew, I think it would be best that you are quite free of the old; for a mixture might introduce the infection of that sickness you complain of. But this may be left to your own discretion. Perhaps we shall join you with the Providence, Captain Whipple, a new continental ship of 30 guns,

which, in coming out of the river of Providence, gave the two frigates that were posted to intercept her each of them so heavy a dose of her 18 and 12 pounders, that they had not the courage, or were not able, to pursue her. It seems to be desired that you will step up to Versailles, (where one will meet you,) in order to such a settlement of matters and plans with those who have the direction as cannot well be done by letter. I wish it may be convenient to you to do it immediately.

" The project of giving you the command of this ship pleases me the more, as it is a probable opening to the higher preferment you so justly merit."

Jones must have been exceedingly gratified by this information. It was placing him at once at the summit of his wishes. The French Minister of Marine notified the wishes of his Most Christian Majesty to employ the American captain; and the Commissioners as formally signified their acquiescence. They say, " We readily consent that he should be at your Excellency's disposition, and shall be happy if his services may be in

any respect useful to the designs your Excellency has in contemplation."

Though Jones had already some experience of Marine Committees, and of the delays and insolence of office, it was quite impossible that he could have anticipated all the torture and vexation laid up in store for him by a proposal which at first sight appeared so fair and flattering. He made his acknowledgments to the minister in his best style; but probably thought less of the "dignity of human nature," the slang of that day, long before all official connexion was finished between them. "I have no doubt," he says, "that many projects might be formed from the hints which I had the honour of sending lately for your inspection: had I been intrusted with the chief command, I would have held myself responsible for consequences."

"I am bound in honour to communicate faithfully to Congress the generous offer which the King now makes, of lending the Epervier in the meantime to be employed under my command, under the flag of America. I have now under my command a ship bound to America. On my arrival

there, from the former confidence of Congress, I have reason to expect an immediate removal into one of their best ships. I have reason to expect the chief command of the first squadron destined for an expedition, having in my possession several similar appointments; and when Congress see fit to appoint admirals, I have assurance that my name will not be forgot. These are flattering prospects to a man who has drawn his sword only upon principles of philanthropy, and in support of the dignity of human nature. But as I prefer a solid to a shining reputation, a useful to a splendid command, I hold myself ready, with the approbation of the Commissioners, to be governed by you in any measures that may tend to distress and humble the common enemy."

This letter, in several of its hints, shows some address on the part of Jones, who, it must be acknowledged, seldom, unless stirred by indignation or a sense of injury, slipped the opportunity of forwarding his own interests by an opportune hint or leading suggestion: of hints and projects of a public nature his brain was at all times sin-

gularly fertile. At this moment of excitement it teemed with bold ideas or fancies. To effect the destruction of Whitehaven was, as we have seen, one project. To take the Bank of Ayr, destroy that town, and probably Greenock and Port-Glasgow, with the shipping in the Clyde, was a yet bolder design. "Much," he says, "might be done in Ireland, where ships worth 150,000 *livres, or even* 200,000, might be seized,—London might be distressed, by cutting off the supply of coals carried from Newcastle,—the fishing at Campbelton might be destroyed, and many towns on the north-east coasts of England and Scotland might be burnt or laid under contribution." A more feasible project was the capture or destruction of the Baltic fleet. "The success of any of these, or of like enterprises," says Jones, in a letter to the French Minister of Marine, "will depend in surprising well, and on despatch both in the attack and in the retreat; therefore it is necessary the ships should *sail fast*, and that their forces should be sufficient to repel any of the enemy's cruising frigates, two of which may perhaps be met at a time. It is scarce-

ly conceivable how great a panic the success of any one of these projects would occasion in England. It would convince the world that their coasts are vulnerable, and would, consequently, hurt their public credit.

" If alarming the coast of Britain should be thought inexpedient, to intercept the enemy's West India or Baltic fleets, or their Hudson's Bay ships, or to destroy their Greenland fishery, are capital objects."

There is much in these plans that must either have been conceived in ignorance, or suggested by Jones for the purpose of merely amusing, or of quickening the motions of the French marine department. Even when, long afterwards, a force was obtained, not one of them was attempted save the abortive attack on Leith.

It has been noticed, that, after the engagement with the Drake, Captain Jones ordered Lieutenant Simpson under arrest for what appeared very satisfactory reasons. He had afterwards been annoyed by the Commissioners' dishonouring his draft, and he was now enraged by their conduct regarding Simpson, the offending officer. In-

deed no excuse can be offered for their proceedings, save that these distracted Commissioners had not power at all times to administer rigid justice, whatever might have been their wishes. The account of this proceeding is given in the words of the memorial, long afterwards prepared by Captain Jones for the information of the King of France. It was an insult the memory of which did not soon leave him.

" The lieutenant under arrest on board the Drake had constant intercourse with the crew; who thereby became so insolent as to refuse duty, and go all hands below repeatedly before the Captain's face. It was impossible to trifle at that time, as Count D'Orvilliers had assured Captain Jones, unless he could get the Drake ready to transport the prisoners to America before orders arrived from Court, they would in all probability be given up without an exchange, to avoid immediate war with England. It therefore became impossible to suffer the lieutenant to remain any longer among them. Captain Jones had him removed to the ship called the Admiral, where the French confine even the first officers in the ser-

vice. He had there a good chamber to himself, and liberty to walk the deck. The lieutenant endeavoured to desert out of the Admiral, and behaved in a manner so extravagant, that Count D'Orvilliers (without the knowledge of Captain Jones) ordered him to the prison of the port, where he also had a good chamber, and Captain Jones paid his expenses out of his own pocket.

"About this time Captain Jones, finding the lieutenant appeared more reasonable than formerly, took his parole in writing, not to serve again in the navy before he was acquitted by a court-martial, and set him at liberty. A day or two afterwards the Commissioners thought fit to interfere respecting the lieutenant of the Ranger, which, it is presumed, they had no authority to do, as it laid the axe to the root of subordination."

On returning from Versailles, whither he had gone, as has been noticed, on the invitation of Franklin, Captain Jones feeling himself dreadfully aggrieved, wrote as follows:—

" Brest, August 13th, 1778.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have been five days in this place since my return from Passy, during which time I have neither seen nor heard from Lieutenant Simpson; but Mr Hill, who was last winter at Passy, and who sailed with me from Nantes, informs me truly, that it is generally reported in the Ranger, and of course throughout the French fleet, and on shore, that I am turned out of the service; that you, gentlemen, have given Mr Simpson my place, with a captain's commission, and that my letter to you of the 16th July was involuntary on my part, and in obedience only to your orders.

" That these reports prevail is not an idle conjecture, but a melancholy fact. Therefore I beseech you,—I demand of you to afford me redress,—redress by a court-martial; to form which we have now, with the assistance of Captain Hinman, Captain Read, as also them at Nantes, a sufficient number of officers in France, exclusive of myself. The Providence and Britain are expected here very soon from Nantes, and I am

certain that they neither can nor will again depart, before my friend Captain Hinman can come down here; and it is his unquestioned right to succeed me in the Ranger.

"I have faithfully and personally supported and fought the dignified cause of human nature ever since the American banners first waved on the Delaware and on the ocean. This I did when that man did not call himself a republican, but left the continent, and served its enemies; and this I did when this man appeared backward, and did not support me as he ought.

"I conclude by requesting you to call before you, and examine for your own satisfaction, Mr Edward Meyers, who is now at the house of the Swedish Ambassador, and who, having been with me as a volunteer, can and will, I am persuaded, represent to you the conduct of the officers and men towards me, both before I left Brest, and afterwards in the Irish Channel, as well as my conduct towards them.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"Their Excellencies the
American Plenipotentiaries."

He received no immediate satisfaction, and resolved to digest his chagrin as he best could, and at least avoid the odium of a squabble among the Americans in France.

In the spring of the following year, he, however, received a slight atonement to his wounded feelings, in an official letter signed by Franklin and Adams, stating, that as his removal from the Ranger, and the appointment of Lieutenant Simpson to the command of that ship, might be liable to misrepresentations and misinterpretations, they certified it to be done by them, that, on the request of M. de Sartine, he might be employed on some public service; and that Simpson had been appointed by his (Jones's) consent after he had released that officer from an arrest under which he had placed him.

The prospect of immediate active service, of getting afloat with unlimited orders, and a larger force than he had ever yet commanded, so flattering and near in July, became more doubtful in the end of August; and by September, as war was now declared with England, the French officers were in the first place to be provided for;

and the promised, or rather offered, frigates dwindled down to a much smaller force. Even that was delayed. After repeatedly applying to the American Commissioners, and using all the personal influence which his enlarged acquaintance in the court circles enabled him to obtain, Jones found it needful to remonstrate with M. de Sartine. He had, however, lost another powerful hold of the Minister. The Prince of Nassau, who in the outset had eagerly desired to accompany him in his expedition, either from caprice or change of views, abandoned the scheme, without scruple or apology, and to the letters of Jones did not even deign the civility of a reply.

That his time might not be wholly consumed in idleness, and in the sickness of hope deferred, Jones again addressed the Minister in what he calls "an explicit letter," which explains his situation better than could be done in many words.

"Brest, September 13th, 1778.

"HONOURED SIR,

"When his Excellency Doctor Franklin informed me that you had condescended to think

me worthy of your notice, I took such pleasure in reflecting on the happy alliance between France and America, that I was really flattered, and entertained the most grateful sense of the honour which you proposed for me, as well as the favour which the king proposed for America, by putting so fine a ship of war as the Indian under my command, and under its flag, with unlimited orders.

" In obedience to your desire, I came to Versailles, and was taught to believe that my intended ship was in deep water, and ready for the sea; but when the Prince (de Nassau) returned I received from him a different account; I was told that the Indian could not be got afloat within a shorter period than three months at the approaching equinox.

" To employ this interval usefully, I first offered to go from Brest with Count D'Orvilliers, as a volunteer, which you thought fit to reject. I had then the satisfaction to find that you approved in general of a variety of hints for private enterprises which I had drawn up for your consideration, and I was flattered with assurances from Messieurs de Chaumont and Bandonin, that three of the

finest frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, would be immediately put under my command; and that I should have unlimited orders, and be at free liberty to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper. But this plan fell to nothing in the moment when I was taught to think that nothing was wanting but the King's signature.

" Another much inferior armament from L'Orient was proposed to be put under my command, which was by no means equal to the services that were expected from it; for speed and force, though both requisite, were both wanting. Happily for me this also failed, and I was thereby saved from a dreadful prospect of ruin and dishonour.

" I had so entire a reliance that you would desire nothing of me inconsistent with my honour and rank, that the moment you required me to come down here, in order to proceed round to St Malo, though I had received no written orders, and neither knew your intention respecting my destination or command, I obeyed with such haste, that although my curiosity led me to look

at the armament at L'Orient, yet I was but three days from Passy till I reached Brest. Here too I drew a blank; but when I saw the Lively, it was no disappointment, as that ship, both in sailing and equipment, is far inferior to the Ranger.

"My only disappointment here was my being precluded from embarking in pursuit of marine knowledge with Count D'Orvilliers, who did not sail till seven days after my return. He is my friend, and expressed his wishes for my company; I accompanied him out of the road when the fleet sailed; and he always lamented that neither himself nor any person in authority in Brest had received from you any order that mentioned my name. I am astonished therefore to be informed that you attribute my not being in the fleet to my stay at L'Orient.

"I am not a mere adventurer of fortune. Stimulated by principles of reason and philanthropy, I laid aside my enjoyments in private life, and embarked under the flag of America when it was first displayed. In that line my desire of fame is infinite, and I must not now so far forget

my own honour, and what I owe to my friends and America, as to remain inactive.

" My rank knows no superior in the American marine: I have long since been appointed to command an expedition with five of its ships, and I can receive orders from no junior or inferior officer whatever.

" I have been here in the most tormenting suspense for more than a month since my return; and agreeable to your desire, as mentioned to me by Monsieur Chaumont, a lieutenant has been appointed, and is with me, who speaks the French as well as the English. Circular letters have been written, and sent the 8th of last month from the English Admiralty, because they expected me to pay another visit with four ships. Therefore I trust that, if the Indian is not to be got out, you will not, at the approaching season, substitute a force that is not at least equal both in strength and sailing to any of the enemy's cruising ships.

" I do not wish to interfere with the harmony of the French marine; but if I am still thought worthy of your attention, I shall hope for a se-

parate command, with liberal orders. If, on the contrary, you should now have no further occasion for my services, the only favour I can ask is, that you will bestow on me the Alert, with a few seamen, and permit me to return, and carry with me your good opinion in that small vessel, before the winter, to America."

This letter was submitted to the Duc de Rochefoucault, and enclosed to Franklin, who, while he omitted no opportunity of serving Jones, still counselled patience. To Franklin he says, " It is in vain for the minister to pretend that he has not ships to bestow. I know the contrary. He has bestowed the *Renommée* and others here since my return; and there are yet several new ships unbestowed at St Malo and elsewhere. I know too, that unless the States of Holland oppose it, the Indian can be got afloat with a tenth part of the difficulty that has been represented. If I was worth his notice at the beginning I am not less so now. After all, you have desired me to have patience, and I promise you that I will wait your kind advice, and take no step without your approbation. If it were consistent and con-

venient for you to see M. de Sartine, I should hope that such an explanation would be the consequence as might remove every cause of uneasiness."

Day after day he continued to write Franklin, mentioning vessels that he might command if the minister were sincere in his professions. Meanwhile Franklin procured the minister's order that he should be received on board the French fleet; but, either intentionally or by accident, it came too late to admit of his embarking to gain that knowledge of naval tactics, and of governing a fleet, which was his object. It was indeed surmised that the jealousy of the French service was the true obstacle, both to his promised command and desire of increasing his knowledge of his profession on the great scale. "I think of going to L'Orient," he says, "being heartily sick of Brest, and an eyesore to the marine." In another letter he says, "I have excited the jealousy of many officers in our young navy, because I have pursued honour while they sought after profit."

Gradually as his hopes decreased, Jones lowered his demands. He proposed many different

vessels, the chief object being fast-sailing ships. "I wish to have no connexion with any ship that does not sail fast," he says, "for I intend to *go in harm's way*. You know, I believe, that this is not every one's intention; therefore buy a frigate that sails fast, and that is sufficiently large to carry twenty-six or twenty-eight guns on one deck." "I have, to show my gratitude to France," he adds, "lost so much time, and with it such opportunities as I cannot regain,—I have almost half killed myself with grief. Give me but an assurance that the command of the Indian will be reserved for me, and bestowed on no other person on any pretence whatsoever, and I will say I am satisfied. This I pledge myself will be no loss to France—America is not ungrateful. The noble-minded Congress know not the little mean distinctions of climate or place of nativity, nor have they adopted any *rule* which can preclude them from encouraging or rewarding the merit of a stranger, by raising him even to the first posts of honour. In the army there are many instances of this. In the navy, young as it is, it gives me particular pleasure to inform you that Congress have given the command of *the best ship* in

their service to a French officer, and called the ship the *Alliance*."

Many vessels were proposed in succession, and all were abandoned. The anger and impatience of Jones got beyond control, and he never appears to have been of the temper which makes a proud man disdain to reveal his chagrin and disappointment. M. de Sartine accordingly, on his part, felt equally annoyed by the incessant importunity of the man who held him to his word.

To the Duc de Rochefoucault, whom he always found friendly, Jones writes,—" The minister's behaviour towards me has been and is really astonishing. At his request (for I sought not the connexion) I gave up absolute certainties, and far more flattering prospects than any of those which he proposed. What inducement could I have for this but gratitude to France for having first recognized our independence? And having given my word to stay for some time in Europe, I have been and am unwilling to take it back, especially after having communicated the circumstances to Congress. The minister, to my infinite mortification, after pos-

sessing himself of my *schemes* and *ideas*, has treated me like a child five times successively, by leading me on from great to little, and from little to less. Does such conduct do honour either to his head or to his heart? He has not to this moment offered me the least apology for any of these five deceptions; nor has he, I believe, assigned any good reason to that venerable and great character, his Excellency Doctor Franklin, whom he has made the instrument to entrap me in this cruel state of inaction and suspense.

"The minister has lately written a letter to Count D'Orvilliers, proposing to send me home in 'une bonne voiture.' This is absolutely adding insult to injury, and it is the proposition of a man whose *veracity* I have not experienced in former cases.

"I could in the summer, with the Ranger, joined with the two other American frigates, have given the enemy sufficient foundation for their fears in Britain as well as Ireland, and could since have been assisting Count D'Estaing, or acting separately with an American squadron. Instead of this I am chained down to shameful

inactivity here, after having written to Congress to reserve no command for me in America.

" Convinced as I am, that your noble and generous breast will feel for my unmerited treatment, I must beseech you to interest yourself with the Duke de Chartres, that the King may be made acquainted with my situation. I have been taught to believe that I have been detained in France with his Majesty's knowledge and approbation, and I am sure he is too good a prince to detain me for my hurt or dishonour.

" M. de Sartine may think as he pleases, but Congress will not thank him for having thus treated an officer who has always been honoured with their favour and friendship. I entertained some hopes of his honourable intentions till he gave the command of the Fox to a lieutenant, after my friends had asked for me only that ship with the Alert cutter. He was the asker *at the beginning*, and ought to be so now; he has, to my certain knowledge, ships unbestowed, and he is bound in honour to give me the Indian, as he proposed at the first, or an equivalent command, immediately."

To M. Ray de Chaumont, Jones says about the same period,—

" Although the minister has treated me like a child five successive times, by leading me on from great to little, and from little to less, yet I had some dependence on his honourable intentions until he refused the small command which you asked for me the 23d ultimo, and afterwards bestowed the Fox *on a lieutenant* who, to my certain knowledge, does not thank him for the favour, and thinks that ship far short of his right. I say I verily believed the minister at the beginning, and afterwards; but now having deceived me so often, I wish him to know that I doubt him, though he swears even '*by the stix.*'* I have written to him several respectful letters of some consequence, none of which he has condescended to answer. This is a piece of incivility and disrespect to me as a stranger which he has not shown even to subalterns in the French marine, in whose hands I have seen his answers to

* At an interview M. Chaumont had with the minister, he swore by Styx! that Paul Jones should have a frigate, were he even to buy it.

letters of little importance. The secrecy which I was required to observe respecting what seemed his first intention in my favour has been inviolable; and I have been so delicate with respect to my situation, that I have been, and am considered everywhere as an officer disgraced and cast off for private reasons. I have of course been in actual disgrace here ever since my return, which is more than two months. I have already lost near five months of my time, the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving my country, and *acquiring honour, as I cannot again expect this war*, while I have been thus shamefully entrapped in inaction. My duty and sensibility cannot brook this unworthy situation. If the minister's intentions have been honourable from the beginning, he will make a direct written apology to me, suitable to the injury which I have sustained, otherwise, in vindication of my sacred honour, painful as it will be, I must publish in the Gazettes of Europe the conduct he has held towards me."

The compatriots of Jones in France sympathized in his disappointment and indignation; particularly Dr Bancroft and Mr William Temple Franklin,

the grandson and secretary of Benjamin Franklin. "I have felt for you most sincerely," says young Franklin; "Monsieur S.'s conduct towards you has been as remarkable as it has been unjust, and has altered in a great degree the good opinion many have had of him. I have been asked in several companies, *où est le brave Capitaine Jones? que fait-il?* and have felt myself (as your compatriot) in a manner ill-treated, when I can only answer that you are still at Brest. On the receipt of your letter, I asked Mr Chaumont 'whether he thought any thing would be done for you?' He answered, 'that to his certain knowledge M. S. was ashamed of the conduct he had held towards you, and that he was now occupied to make up for it. Bancroft,' says he, 'is assured that the minister had all along felt good dispositions, but had been prevented from carrying them into execution by the intrigues of 487,557,* (the marine,) among whom multitudes were mak-

* These numbers refer to a cipher that Bancroft and young Franklin had got from Paul Jones for their private correspondence with him.

ing interest, and caballing to obtain 303, (ships,) and opposing the disposal of any except among their own body; but 710 (M. de Sartine) had assured him that you should soon have one, if he were even to purchase it.' Mr Bandonin desired me also to make you his best compliments, to assure you that he would not suffer your business to rest much longer, and in the mean time to beg your patience a little longer. In this situation I know not what we can do, but wait a week or two, when, if nothing comes, I think 299 (Doctor Franklin) will declare his utmost resentment, and nothing that any of us can say will be too bad."

Worn out with waiting, "half killed," as he strongly expresses himself, with suspense and inaction, Jones now formed the design of directly addressing the king, and of soliciting the kindness of the family of *Chartres*, (Orleans,) in presenting his letter. He, as usual, took the precaution of enclosing all these epistolary compositions to Franklin,—a course which preserved him from ever going too far wrong, even while under the greatest irritation.

In his letter to Franklin, he says, "The Duchesse de Chartres will, I am persuaded, undertake to deliver my letter into the King's hands; and as you may not yet think fit to appear in the business, either the Duc de Rochefoucault, or your grandson, will oblige me by waiting on her at the Palais Royal. The Duc de Rochefoucault, as he understands English well, and is acquainted with the circumstances, would oblige me much if he would be present when the letter is presented to the King. I do not wish to trouble the Duc de Chartres about this affair, as that brave prince has undeservedly met with vexations of his own."

The following is the letter which Captain Jones wrote to the King of France, and which was to be presented to his Majesty by the Duchess of Chartres, afterwards the Duchess of Orleans :—

"Brest, October 19th, 1778.

"SIRE,

"After my return to Brest in the American ship of war the Ranger, from the Irish Channel, his excellency Dr Franklin informed me by let-

ter, dated June the 1st, that M. de Sartine, having a high opinion of my conduct and bravery, had determined, with your Majesty's consent and approbation, to give me the command of the ship of war the Indian, which was built at Amsterdam for America, but afterwards, for political reasons, made the property of France.

" I was to act with unlimited orders under the commission and flag of America; and the Prince de Nassau proposed to accompany me on the ocean.

" I was deeply penetrated with the sense of the honour done me by this generous proposition, as well as of the favour your Majesty intended thereby to confer on America. And I accepted the offer with the greater pleasure, as the Congress had sent me to Europe in the Ranger, to command the Indian before the ownership of that vessel was changed.

" The minister desired to see me at Versailles to settle future plans of operation, and I attended him for that purpose. I was told that the Indian was at the Texel completely armed and fitted for sea; but the Prince de Nassau was sent ex-

press to Holland, and returned with a very different account. The ship was at Amsterdam, and could not be got afloat or armed before the September equinox. The American plenipotentiaries proposed that I should return to America; and as I have repeatedly been appointed to the chief command of an American squadron to execute secret enterprises, it was not doubted but that Congress would again show me a preference. M. de Sartine, however, thought proper to prevent my departure, by writing to the plenipotentiaries, (without my knowledge,) requesting that I might be permitted to remain in Europe, and that the Ranger might be sent back to America under another commander, he having special services which he wished me to execute. This request they readily granted, and I was flattered by the prospect of being enabled to testify, by my services, my gratitude to your Majesty, as the first prince who has so generously acknowledged our independence.

"There was an interval of more than three months before the Indian could be gotten afloat. To employ that period usefully, when your Ma-

jesty's fleet was ordered to sail from Brest, I proposed to the minister to embark in it as a volunteer, in pursuit of marine knowledge. He objected to this, at the same time approved of a variety of hints for private enterprises, which I had drawn up for his consideration. Two gentlemen were appointed to settle with me the plans that were to be adopted, who gave me the assurance that three of the best frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, should be immediately put under my command, to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper; but this fell to nothing, when I believed that your Majesty's signature only was wanting.

"Another armament, composed of cutters and small vessels, at L'Orient, was proposed to be put under my command, to alarm the coasts of England and check the Jersey privateers; but, happily for me, this also failed, and I was saved from ruin and dishonour, as I now find that all the vessels sailed slow, and their united force is very insignificant. The minister then thought fit that I should return to Brest to command the Lively, and join some frigates on an expedition from St

Malo to the North Sea. I returned in haste for that purpose, and found that the Lively had been bestowed at Brest before the minister had mentioned that ship to me at Versailles. This was, however, another fortunate disappointment, as the Lively proves, both in sailing and equipment, much inferior to the Ranger; but, more especially, if it be true, as I have since understood, that the minister intended to give the chief command of the expedition to a lieutenant, which would have occasioned a very disagreeable misunderstanding: for, as an officer of the first rank in the American marine, who has ever been honoured with the favour and friendship of Congress, I can receive orders from no inferior officer whatever. My plan was the destruction of the English Baltic fleet, of great consequence to the enemy's marine, and then only protected by a single frigate! I would have held myself responsible for its success had I commanded the expedition.

"M. de Sartine afterwards sent orders to Count D'Orvilliers to receive me on board the

fleet, agreeably to my former proposal; but the order did not arrive until after the departure of the fleet the last time from Brest, nor was I made acquainted with the circumstance before the fleet returned here.

"Thus have I been chained down to shameful inactivity for nearly five months. I have lost the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving my country and acquiring honour as I cannot again expect this war; and, to my infinite mortification, having no command, I am considered everywhere an officer cast off and in disgrace for secret reasons.

"I have written respectful letters to the minister, none of which he has condescended to answer; I have written to the Prince de Nassau with as little effect; and I do not understand that any apology has been made to the great and venerable Dr Franklin, whom the minister has made the instrument of bringing me into such unmerited trouble.

"Having written to Congress to reserve no command for me in America, my sensibility is

the more affected by this unworthy situation in the sight of your Majesty's fleet. I, however, make no remark on the treatment I have received.

" Although I wish not to become my own panegyrist, I must beg your Majesty's permission to observe, that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune, of which, thank God, I have a sufficiency.

" When the American banner was first displayed, I drew my sword in support of the violated dignity and rights of human nature; and both honour and duty prompt me steadfastly to continue the righteous pursuit, and to sacrifice to it, not only my private enjoyments, but even life, if necessary. I must acknowledge that the generous praise which I have received from Congress and others exceeds the merit of my past services; therefore I the more ardently wish for future opportunities of testifying my gratitude by my activity.

" As your Majesty, by espousing the cause of America, hath become the protector of the rights of human nature, I am persuaded that you will

not disregard my situation, nor suffer me to remain any longer in this insupportable disgrace.

I am, with perfect gratitude
and profound respect,
SIRE,
Your Majesty's very obliged,
very obedient, and
very humble servant,
J. PAUL JONES."

There is no satisfactory evidence that the above letter was ever presented, or indeed that it ever came into the hands of the Duchess of Chartres; yet the fact appears to be assumed by the American biographer of Jones; and the letter itself, as expressive of his sentiments at this crisis, is too important to be suppressed. The correspondence and journals of Jones contain no allusion to any effect produced by that letter,—not even the extract of his journal made long afterwards, expressly for the perusal of the King; and the postscript of a letter written by Mr Temple Franklin is at least complete proof that, if the letter to the King was ever delivered, it was de-

cidedly against the judgment of Franklin. The letter of the younger Franklin is dated the 22d October, the postscript the 24th. It says, " Since writing the above, I have received yours of the 19th instant (the letter to the King.) I would willingly do every thing you there desire of me, but it is my grandfather's opinion that there will be no occasion to send those letters; and I imagine they were wrote before you heard of the minister's final determination. If, however, you still think they ought to be sent, you have only to order it."

From this it would appear that the minister's " final determination" to buy Jones " a suitable ship" had preceded the letter to the King, and was not a consequence of it. In a letter to M. de Chaumont, of the 30th November, Jones thus expresses himself with regard to M. de Sartine :—" My best respects and most grateful thanks await the minister for the very honourable things he said of me to the Duc de la Rochefoucault. It shall be my ambition, when he gives me opportunities, to merit his favour and affection."

CHAPTER V.

The gratitude of Jones to the minister of marine was premature. But it would be tiresome to follow the train of petty disappointments which this brave man had yet to encounter before he got once again fairly afloat. From the month of June, 1778, till the month of February of the following year, he was condemned to feel to its utmost extent the misery there is—

"In suing long to bide."

In this interval some proposals were made to Captain Jones while at Brest to take the command of privateers. This he decidedly declined; and he even resented the supposition that, bearing, as he did, the commission of Congress, he should act at any time as the commander of privateers. So nice was he on this point, that in one instance we find Franklin himself condescending to sooth his hasty feelings. "Depend

upon it," says the sage, "I never wrote Mr Gillon that the Bon Homme Richard was a privateer. I could not write so, because I never had such a thought. I will next post send you a copy of my letter to him, by which you will see that he has only forced that construction from a vague expression I used, merely to conceal from him (in answering his idle demand that I would order your squadron, then on the point of sailing, to go with him to Carolina,) that the expedition was at the expense and under the direction of the King, which it was not proper or necessary for him to know." And to the proposal that he would take the command of an armament of privateers, Jones says, "*Were I in pursuit of profit* I would accept it without hesitation; but I am under such obligations to Congress, that I cannot think myself my own master,—and as a servant of the Imperial Republic of America, honoured with the public approbation of my past services, I cannot, from my own authority or inclination, serve either myself or even my best friends, in any private line whatsoever." With these feelings, his indignation at being long af-

terwards offered a letter-of-marque by the French government, in requital of his services, may be easily imagined. But this belongs to a more advanced stage of his history.

Every thing appeared in a fair way in November; yet Jones found it necessary to repair once more to Versailles, and to Passy, the seat of the American legation. "As nothing was done," he says in his memorial to the King, "Captain Jones determined to go himself to court." When he got there, the minister offered him the Marshal de Broglio, a large ship; but as his Americans had all left the service during the long period of idleness, he was unable to man this vessel, and the Duc de Duras was bought for him, which, among many other vessels, he had acquainted his friends, was on sale at L'Orient.

On the 6th of February Jones had at last the satisfaction of making, from Passy, his acknowledgments to the minister Sartine. His gratitude was quite as lively as the treatment he had received required. He obtained leave to change the name of the ship to *Bon Homme Richard*, "in compliment," he says, "to a saying of Poor Rich-

ard," (of which, by the way, he had just experienced the truth,) "If you would have your business done, come yourself—if not, send."

Jones now went to Nantes to engage seamen, and to obtain cannon to arm his ship. On his late journey he had been introduced to M. Garnier, in order to concert a plan of operations for a combined naval and military force. Four or five sail were to be added to the Bon Homme Richard, of which two vessels were to be fireships. Five hundred picked men, taken from the Irish regiment, were to embark under the command of Mr Fitzmaurice. All were to be under the entire command of Jones. "A plan,"* he says, "was laid, which promised perfect success, and had it succeeded, would have astonished the world."

In an evil hour he solicited that the Alliance, a new American frigate, of which the command had been given by Congress to one Landais, a Frenchman, should be added to his force. As Dr Franklin had just been formally appointed

* This plan was directed against Liverpool.

ambassador to the Court of France, Jones imagined that not only the disposal of the frigate, but the power of displacing its commander at pleasure, was vested in him, as the guardian of American interests in Europe.

About this time the Marquis de la Fayette returned from America, and he wished to go on the projected expedition. Jones was summoned to court; and it was arranged that the Marquis de la Fayette was to command a body of about 700 troops, assigned him by the King. The Alliance was made part of the squadron by the American minister plenipotentiary, at the particular desire of the French government.

The squadron was now to consist of the Bon Homme Richard, the Alliance, the Pallas, the Vengeance brig, and the Cerf, a fine cutter, well fitted and manned. "A person," (M. Chaumont,) says Jones, "was appointed commissary, and unwisely intrusted with the secret of the expedition. The commissary took upon himself the whole direction at L'Orient; but the secret was too big for him to keep. All Paris rang with the expedition from L'Orient; and govern-

ment was obliged to drop the plan when the squadron lay ready for sea, and the troops ready to embark."

In the expectation that Jones was to be joined by the Marquis de la Fayette, his judicious friend Franklin wrote him thus, actuated, no doubt, both by anxiety for the public cause and regard to the individual he addressed:

"I have, at the request of M. de Sartine, postponed the sending of the Alliance to America, and have ordered her to proceed immediately from Nantes to L'Orient, where she is to be furnished with her complement of men, join your little squadron, and act under your command.

"The Marquis de la Fayette will be with you soon. It has been observed that joint-expeditions of land and sea forces often miscarry through jealousies and misunderstandings between the officers of the different corps. This must happen where there are little minds, actuated more by personal views of profit or honour to themselves, than by the warm and sincere desire of good to their country. Knowing you both, as I do, and your just manner of thinking on these occasions,

I am confident nothing of the kind can happen between you, and that it is unnecessary for me to recommend to either of you that condescension, mutual good-will, and harmony, which contribute so much to success in such undertakings. I look upon this expedition as an introduction only to greater trusts and more extensive commands, and as a kind of trial of both your abilities and of your fitness in temper and disposition for acting in concert with others. I flatter myself, therefore, that nothing will happen that may give impressions to the disadvantage of either of you, when greater affairs shall come under consideration.

"As this is understood to be an American expedition, under the Congress commission and colours, the Marquis, who is a Major-General in that service, has of course the step in point of rank, and he must have the command of the land-forces, which are committed by the King to his care; but the command of the ships will be entirely in you, in which I am persuaded that whatever authority his rank might in strictness give him, he will not have the least desire to inter-

fere with you. There is honour enough to be got for both of you if the expedition is conducted with a prudent unanimity. The circumstance is indeed a little unusual; for there is not only a junction of land and sea forces, but there is also a junction of Frenchmen and Americans, which increases the difficulty of maintaining a good understanding; a cool, prudent conduct in the chiefs is therefore the more necessary, and I trust neither of you will in that respect be deficient. With my best wishes for your success, health, and honour, I remain, dear Sir, your affectionate and most obedient servant."

This excellent counsel was not thrown away on Jones. His letter to La Fayette, written a few days afterwards, re-echoes the sentiments of the republican sage. "Where men of fine feelings are concerned," he says, "there is very seldom any misunderstanding,—and I am sure I should do the greatest violence to my sensibility if I were capable of giving you a moment's pain by any part of my conduct; therefore, without any apology, I shall expect you to point out my errors, when we are alone together, with perfect free-

dom,—and I think I dare promise you that your reproof shall not be lost. I have received from the good Dr Franklin instructions at large, which do honour to his liberal mind, and which it will give me the greatest satisfaction to execute. I cannot ensure success,—but we will endeavour to deserve it."

Some of the instructions of Dr Franklin to which Jones refers, and of which he says, "your noble-minded instructions would make a coward brave," deserve to be made known as widely as possible.*

"You are to bring to France all the English seamen you may happen to take prisoners, in order to complete the good work you have already made such progress in, of delivering, by an exchange, the rest of our countrymen now languishing in the gaols of Great Britain.

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* It is a pleasing trait in the history of that period, that all the naval commanders of the countries at war with England had particular orders "not to molest the ships of the brave navigator Captain Cook," if they chanced to fall in with them.

"As many of your officers and people have lately escaped from English prisons, either in Europe or America, you are to be particularly attentive to their conduct towards the prisoners which the fortune of war may throw in your hands, lest resentment of the more than barbarous usage by the English in many places towards the Americans, should occasion a retaliation, and an imitation of what ought rather to be detested and avoided, for the sake of humanity and for the honour of our country.

"In the same view, although the English have wantonly burnt many defenceless towns in America, you are not to follow this example, unless where a reasonable ransom is refused; in which case your own generous feelings, as well as this instruction, will induce you to give timely notice of your intention, that sick and ancient persons, women and children, may be first removed."

Jones attributes the failure of the expedition so much talked of to the tattling of the commissary; but he probably over-rates that circumstance. The truth is, that the French government never continued for one week of the same

mind; and they had, about this time, been seized with that *grand idea* by which the court and people of France seem to be periodically infatuated—the design of invading England. The expedition which was "to astonish the world" was abandoned, according to La Fayette, "for political and military reasons." Instead of Commodore Jones burning towns and shipping, taking hostages and levying contributions, an invasion was to be attempted on that grand scale so congenial to the Gallic character.

Another service was in consequence allotted to Jones. He was to act as convoy to troops, stores, and private merchandize, for Bordeaux and other ports in the Bay of Biscay. This trifling service he performed, and cruised about with little aim or effect for some days.

On the night of the 20th June the Alliance ran foul of the Bon Homme Richard, and injured the vessel. The character of Landais, the commander of the Alliance, and his after conduct, which was marked by the grossest degree of insubordination, insolence, and even treachery, gave rise to a suspicion that this accident was of a

doubtful character. The head and bowsprit of the Bon Homme Richard were carried away, and the Alliance lost her mizen-mast. The lieutenant of the Bon Homme Richard, who had the watch that night, was afterwards broke by a court-martial.

Even at this busy period Jones had not forgotten his relations in Scotland, though his correspondence with them necessarily required some management. It does not appear by what channel the following letter, received at Dumfries, was transmitted to Cork. The person on whom the bill (for £30) was drawn could not be heard of in Carlisle. Other remittances made by Jones to his friends were in like manner never received. In reply to a letter from his sister, Mrs Taylor, informing him of the death of his mother and eldest sister, he says with true feeling, "The loss of those dear friends is the more affecting to me, as they never received the remittances I intended for them, and as they had not perhaps a true idea of my affection." The following letter is addressed to Jones's eldest sister, Elizabeth Paul:—

" Cork, June 1st, 1779.

" If ever my dear girl had any doubts of the sincerity of my friendship, I hope the enclosed bill will remove them. You find it drawn in favour of my dearest departed brother, Captain Plaince. However, as it is made payable to his order, my sister-in-law's signature will make it quite the same. Had the bill been drawn on any place of commerce, I would have negotiated it myself, and then got a bill on Dumfries for you; however, as Carlisle is near you, you will sooner get the money, as I must have sent it there for acceptance. The half is for Mrs Paul, and the other half for your use. You will immediately get some gentleman to present it for acceptance: you will find it payable ten days after. Adieu, my dear girl; number me with the sincerest of your friends, write me of your health, and be assured of the good wishes of

" Your humble servant,

" JUDITH PLAINCE."

On the 30th of June, Jones came into the road of Groix. The Alliance and Bon Homme Rich-

ard both required to be refitted; the other vessels meanwhile looked after prizes. On that day the log-book of the Bon Homme Richard has the following entry:—

"At half-past 7, P. M., saw two sail bearing down upon us, one with a flag at each mast-head. Hove about and stood from them to get in readiness for action; then hove mizen-topsail to the mast, down all stay-sails and up mizen-sail. Then they hove about and stood from us. Immediately we tacked ship and stood after them.

"After which they wore ship and stood for us. Captain Jones, *gentleman-like*, called all his officers, and consulted them whether they were willing to see them. They all said yes. Made sail after them; but they, being better sailers than we, got from us. At 1, A. M., tacked ship."

At the isle of Groix Jones lay for six weeks,—a period not without its vexations. In anticipating his earlier arrival, and unconscious of the damage received by the shock of the Alliance, Dr Franklin, in the following letter of the 30th June, directed him to set out on a long cruise.

" Passy, June 30, 1779.

" DEAR SIR,

" Being arrived at Groix, you are to make the best of your way, with the vessels under your command, to the west of Ireland, and establish your cruise on the Orcades, the cape of Derneus, and the Dogger-Bank, in order to take the enemy's property in those seas.

" The prizes you may make send to Dunkirk, Ostend, or Bergen in Norway, according to your proximity to either of those ports. Address them to the persons M. De Chaumont shall indicate to you.

" About the 15th August, when you will have sufficiently cruised in these seas, you are to make route for the Texel, where you will meet my further orders.

" If, by any personal accident, you should be rendered unable to execute these instructions, the officer of your squadron next in rank is to endeavour to put them in execution.

" With best wishes for your prosperity, I am ever, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

" The Honourable Captain JONES."

The preceding letter was crossed by that in which Jones gave an account of his cruise, and of the Alliance running foul of the Bon Homme Richard. In this letter he again hinted his desire to obtain the Indian, to cruise towards the Texel, and bring her out with the crew he now had. But Franklin had no mind to change his original orders. "I have no other orders to give," he says; "for as the court are at the chief expense, I think they have the best right to direct." —"I observe what you say about a change of destination; but when a thing has been once considered and determined on in council, they don't care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand." This epistle has the following pithy postscript:—"N. B. If it should fall in your way, remember that the Hudson's Bay ships are very valuable. B. F."

Again Jones complained bitterly of the tattling commissary, (Chaumont,) who had formerly frustrated the expedition with La Fayette, and was now busied at similar work. Perhaps Commodore Jones might be over sensitive or suspicious on this point. "I have another proof," he

says, " this day, of the communicative disposition of M. De Chaumont. He has written to an officer under my command a whole sheet on the subject of your letter, and has even introduced more than perhaps was necessary to a person commanding in chief. I have also strong reasons to think that this officer is not the only improper person here to whom he has written to the same effect. This is surely a strange infatuation, and it is much to be lamented that one of the best hearts in the world should be connected with a mistaken head, whose errors can afford him neither pleasure nor profit, but may effect the ruin and dishonour of a man whom he esteems and loves. Believe me, my worthy sir, I dread the thoughts of seeing this subject too soon in print, as I have done several others of greater importance, with which he was acquainted, and which I am certain he communicated too early to improper persons, whereby very important services have been impeded and set aside."

In a marginal note, in the handwriting of Jones, he says,—" I found it in print before I reached Holland !" And in another marginal note on a

letter of Dr Franklin's of the 19th July, he writes, "It is clear I saw my danger, and sailed with my eyes open, rather than return to America dishonoured."

Jones was farther annoyed by reports which had reached head-quarters, and which were indeed too well-founded, that a mutinous disposition had shown itself among the crew of the Bon Homme Richard. He had at this time gone back to L'Orient. It was not deemed expedient to permit the ship to sail without inquiry and a change of men; and, what was worse, the Court saw no reason to detain the Alliance because the Bon Homme Richard was unfit for sea; and Franklin did not think proper to prevent what appeared so reasonable. This, however, did not take place; and holding out the prospect of capturing the Jamaica fleet,* then expected, escorted by a fifty-gun ship and two strong frigates, Jones solicited and obtained leave for the Monsieur privateer to join him, and his leave was extended

* In his memorial to the King of France, Jones says, "that it was his intention to cruise off the south-west of Ireland for 12 or 15 days, to intercept the enemy."

till the end of September. The captains of the Monsieur and Grandville privateers had at this time requested to be permitted to follow him and share his fortunes, offering to bind themselves to remain attached to his squadron; but this the disinterested Commissary would not permit. The consequences were soon obvious; the privateers remained attached to the squadron exactly as long as suited themselves.

Having given the necessary orders and signals, and appointed various places of rendezvous for every captain in case of separation, Commodore Jones sailed from the road of Groix on the 14th of August, exactly one day short of the time he had been desired to come into the Texel, after ending his cruise; so uncertain and precarious are all nautical movements. The squadron consisted of seven sail: the Bon Homme Richard, of 40 guns; the Alliance, of 36; the Pallas, of 32; the Cerf, of 18; and the Vengeance, of 12 guns; besides the privateers, Monsieur, of 40 guns, and the Grandville, of 14 guns;—"a force which might have effected great services," says Jones himself, in his memorial to the King of France, "and done infinite injury to the enemy,

had there been *secrecy and due subordination.* Unfortunately there was neither. Captain Jones saw his danger; but his reputation being at stake, he put all to the hazard."

The effects of this want of subordination were soon felt. The captain of the privateer Monsieur, as might have been expected, acted as he thought proper, and in a few days left the squadron. And Captain Landais, a man of the most unhappy temper, not only behaved with disrespect to the Commander, but soon assumed to act as he pleased, and as an independent commander, refusing to obey the signals of the Commodore, giving chase where or how he thought fit, and availing himself of any pretext to leave the squadron, which he finally abandoned. Several prizes were made on the first days of the cruise, and more might have been captured, had a good understanding subsisted among the commanders.

From the 3d of September till the 13th the weather was stormy, and Jones continued to beat about the coasts of Scotland. The Alliance had again separated from the Bon Homme Richard;

and there remained of the squadron only the Commodore's ship, with the Pallas and Vengeance. "Yet," says Jones, "I did not abandon the hope of performing some essential service."

It was at this time he offered that attempt on Leith, by which, in one quarter of Scotland, the formidable name of "Paul Jones" is still best remembered. The following particulars are taken from his letter to Dr Franklin, giving an account of his cruise to be transmitted to Congress. The letter is dated October 3, 1779, on board the ship of war Serapis, at anchor without the Texel:—

"The winds continued to be contrary, so that we did not see the land till the evening of the 13th, when the hills of Cheviot, in the south-east of Scotland, appeared. The next day we chased sundry vessels, and took a ship and a brigantine, both from the frith of Edinburgh, laden with coal. Knowing that there lay at anchor in Leith Road an armed ship of 20 guns, with two or three fine cutters, I formed an expedition against Leith, which I purposed to lay under contribution, or otherwise to reduce it to ashes. Had I been alone, the wind being favourable, I would have

proceeded directly up the frith, and must have succeeded, as they lay then in a state of perfect indolence and security, which would have proved their ruin. Unfortunately for me, the Pallas and Vengeance were both at a considerable distance in the offing, they having chased to the southward. This obliged me to steer out of the frith again to meet them. The captains of the Pallas and Vengeance being come on board the Bon Homme Richard, I communicated to them my project, to which many difficulties and objections were made by them. At last, however, they appeared to think better of the design, after I had assured (them) that I hoped to raise a contribution of £200,000 sterling on Leith, and that there was no battery of cannon there to oppose our landing. So much time, however, was unavoidably spent in pointed remarks and sage deliberations that night, that the wind became contrary in the morning."

That nothing might be wanting, Commodore Jones meanwhile prepared his summons to the Magistrates of Leith. In that locality it must still be an interesting document; and as such we give

it at full length, not doubting that the worshipful persons for whom it was intended, if any of them should haply still survive, will see it for the first time with more satisfaction in these harmless pages than had it reached its destination fifty years back. Jones felt greatly chagrined and disappointed at the failure of this enterprise.

> " *The Honourable J. Paul Jones, Commander-in-Chief of the American Squadron now in Europe, &c., to the Worshipful the Provost of Leith, or, in his absence, to the Chief Magistrate who is now actually present and in authority there.*

" Sir,

" The British marine force that has been stationed here for the protection of your city and commerce being now taken by the American arms under my command, I have the honour to send you this summons by my officer, Lieutenant-Colonel De Chamillard, who commands the vanguard of my troops. I do not wish to distress the poor inhabitants; my intention is only to

demand your contribution towards the reimbursement which Britain owes to the much-injured citizens of the United States,—for savages would blush at the unmanly violation and rapacity that has marked the tracks of British tyranny in America, from which neither virgin-innocence nor helpless age has been a plea of protection or pity.

"Leith and its port now lies at our mercy; and did not our humanity stay the hand of just retaliation, I should, *without advertisement*, lay it in ashes. Before I proceed to that stern duty as an officer, my duty *as a man* induces me to propose to you, by the means of a reasonable ransom, to prevent such a scene of horror and distress. For this reason, I have authorized Lieutenant-Colonel De Chamillard to conclude and agree with you on the terms of ransom, allowing you exactly half an hour's reflection before you finally accept or reject the terms which he shall propose (£200,000.) If you accept the terms offered within the time limited, you may rest assured that no further debarkation of troops will be made, but that the re-embarkation of the vanguard will

immediately follow, and that the property of the citizens shall remain unmolested.

"I have the honour to be, with sentiments of due respect, Sir, your very obedient and very humble servant,

"PAUL JONES.

"On board the American ship-of-war the Bon Homme Richard, at anchor in the Road of Leith, September the 17th, 1779."

The copy of the letter now lying before us contains the N.B. subjoined to it, in his own handwriting:—

"N.B.—The sudden and violent storm which arose in the moment when the squadron was abreast of Keith Island,* which forms the entrance of the Road of Leith, rendered impracticable the execution of the foregoing project."

The three ships had lain so long off and on the coast, that alarm was general; and on the 15th an express reached Edinburgh, sent to the Commander-in-Chief and to the Board of Cus-

* Inchkeith Island.

toms, with accounts that three strange ships were seen off Eyemouth on the afternoon of the 14th, which had made two prizes; and that a ship, supposed to mount 40 or 50 guns, was seen off Dunbar. At 5, P. M., on the 16th, they were distinctly seen from Edinburgh sailing up the Frith of Forth; but whether they were French vessels or the squadron of Paul Jones was not yet ascertained. The alarm along the coast was become general; batteries were hastily erected at Leith, and the incorporated trades bravely petitioned for arms, which were supplied from the castle of Edinburgh. Yet the audacity of the American commander so far blinded some of the spectators on the northern shores, that on the 17th a boat with five men came off from the coast of Fife to the Bon Homme Richard, soliciting powder and shot in name of a certain landed proprietor, who wished "to have the means of defending himself from the expected visit of the pirate Paul Jones." So far as powder went, this request was politely complied with; but the Commodore declined sending any shot.

On the 15th a small collier had been captured,

the master of which, from his knowledge of the coast, and subserviency to his captor, was of the greatest use to Jones in his intended project.—When he afterwards abandoned the enterprise, he gave this man up his vessel, "on account of his attachment to America, and the faithful information and important services he rendered me," says Jones, "by his general knowledge of the east coast of Britain. I had given orders to sink the old vessel, when the tears of this honest* man prevailed over my intention."

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* This "honest man," but very bad patriot, was Andrew Robertson, master of the Friendship of Kirkcaldy. After being for two days kept on board the Bon Homme Richard, and having his ship given up to him for "faithful information" and "important services," he pretended that Commodore Jones had put it to ransom. This indeed was the face necessary to put on the affair; but the Commodore had previously declared that he had no authority to ransom prizes. The ransom-passport is amusing, from its date, and the circumstances under which it was granted. It is written by a French marine officer, who probably acted as the secretary of Commodore Jones, but is signed by himself:—

The narrative of this bold though abortive attempt will be best given in Jones's own words:—

"We continued working to windward of the frith, without being able to reach the road of Leith till, on the morning of the 17th, when, being almost within cannon-shot of the town, having every thing in readiness for a descent, a

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"L'Honorable Capitaine John Paul Jones, Ecuyer, commandant en chef l'escadre Americaine actuellement en Europe,

"A tous ceux qui ces presentes verront, spécialement les sujets de la France:—

"Je certifie par le présent passeport, que le vaisseau Friendship, commandé par André Robertson, du port de Kirkcaldy, et venant du dit lieu pour aller à Riga, a été pris par l'escadre Americaine que je commande, et qu'il est ransonné: C'est pourquoi je prie et requiers tous les sujets de la France et de l'Amérique, de laisser librement passer le dit vaisseau Friendship, et continuer son voyage, sans le troubler en façon quelconque.

"Donné à la mer à bord du Bon Homme Richard, le dix-sept Septembre, mil sept cent soixante dix-neuf.

"J. Paul Jones."

very severe gale of wind came on, and, being directly contrary, obliged us to bear away, after having in vain endeavoured for some time to withstand its violence. The gale was so severe, that one of the prizes that were taken on the 14th sunk to the bottom, the crew being with difficulty saved. As the clamour had by this time reached Leith by means of a cutter that had watched our motions that morning, and as the wind continued contrary, (though more moderate in the evening,) I thought it impossible to pursue the enterprise with a good prospect of success, especially as Edinburgh, where there is always a number of troops, is only a mile distant from Leith: therefore I gave up the project."*

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* The prodigious sensation caused by the appearance of the squadron of Paul Jones in the Frith of Forth is hardly yet forgotten on the coast of Fife. There are various accounts of the manner in which this daring attempt was defeated. The 17th September, when Jones advanced to Leith, happened to be a Sunday. His ship, the Bon Homme Richard, stood at times so near the northern shores as to be distinctly seen by the crowds assembled on the beach, and on the commanding heights in the

It was the misfortune of Paul Jones, in almost every important crisis of his life, to be either

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neighbourhood. At one time the Bon Homme Richard was not more than a mile from Kirkcaldy, a thriving and wealthy seaport. The alarm was naturally very great in that town; and the Rev. Mr Shirra, a worthy and very eccentric dissenting clergyman, remarkable for his quaint humour, instead of holding forth in the church as at ordinary times, where on this day he would have had but a thin audience, repaired to the fine level sandy beach of Kirkcaldy, and soon attracted a very numerous congregation. Here he prayed most fervently and earnestly, with that homely and familiar eloquence by which his sermons and prayers were distinguished, that the enterprise of "the piratical invader Paul Jones might be defeated." For once, it may be believed, the hearts of a congregation went with their minister. That violent gale, so much lamented by Paul Jones, suddenly arose,—the alleged consequence of Mr Shirra's powerful intercession. Such was long the popular belief. When, in after periods, this good old man was questioned on the subject, and complimented on the prevailing spirit of his prayer, which had so opportunely raised the wind that blew off Paul Jones, his usual reply, disclaiming the full extent of the compliment, was,—"I prayed,—but the Lord sent the wind."

clogged by the timid counsels of those about him, whose genius and courage could not keep pace with his, or to be thwarted by the baser feelings of ignoble rivalship. In no other service than that of America, still struggling for a doubtful existence as an independent state, and without either power or means to enforce due obedience throughout the gradations of the public service, could such insubordination as was displayed by

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A gentleman, writing shortly afterwards from Amsterdam to his friend in Leith, says,—" You may count it a very fortunate circumstance that this gentleman (Commodore Jones) was prevented from hurting you when he was in your frith by a *strong westerly wind,* and the springing of a mast, as, in a conversation I had with him in this city, he assured me that his intention was to seize the shipping in the harbour, and to set fire to such as he could not carry off. He seemed to be well acquainted with the coast, and knew" (thanks to ' honest' Andrew Robertson !) " that there was no force to oppose him." Jones is described at this time, by those who saw him, as being " dressed in the American uniform, with a Scotch bonnet, edged with gold,—as of a middling stature, stern countenance, and swarthy complexion."

his force have been tolerated. The French officers under Jones at this time, besides the feelings of national and professional rivalship, had also too little experience of the capacity of their commander to give him that entire confidence so indispensable to success. His ill-fortune, with these uncongenial associates, was the more distressing, as their opposition or fears, while they baffled his enterprises, averted no real danger to which the loitering squadron might be exposed. The conduct of the agents of the court of France had also promoted and even authorised this unhappy insubordination of which the Commodore, after his return to the Texel, bitterly complained. "I must," he says, "speak plainly; as I have been always honoured with the full confidence of Congress, and as I also flattered myself with enjoying, in some measure, the confidence of the court of France, I could not but be astonished at the conduct of M. de Chaumont, when, in the moment of my departure from Groix, he produced a paper or *concordat* for me to sign in common with the officers whom I had commissioned but a few days before. Had this paper,

or even a less dishonourable one, been proposed to me at the beginning, I would have rejected it with just contempt."

The other enterprise, which, after having failed at Leith, Jones so reluctantly abandoned, is not exactly known. It might have been against Hull or Newcastle. It had been a favourite project with him in the former year to distress London by destroying the coal-shipping.

Jones had now the mortifying prospect of going into the Texel with merely a few prizes, the sole fruit of a long cruise with a formidable maritime armament, when fortune threw in his way the most brilliant achievement of his public life.

CHAPTER VI.

THE engagement between the Serapis and the Bon Homme Richard was, previous to the last war, one of the most desperate in naval chronicles. As a close and deadly fight, hand to hand, and accompanied by all the dreadful circumstances that can attend a sea-engagement, it has even yet few parallels. Its incidents have been selected as the foundation of fictitious narratives of maritime combats, from exceeding in intense interest the boldest imaginings of the poet and the novelist.*

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* Mr Cooper, the celebrated American novelist, and Allan Cunningham, have both chosen PAUL JONES as the hero of romances, very different in character, but equally admirable each in its peculiar style. Mr Cunningham has certainly in many instances made wild work with the sober facts of history; and, considering the very recent period in which his hero flourished, takes larger poetical license than is quite admissible. The charms and accom-

This battle was fought on the 23d September, under a full harvest-moon,—thousands of spectators, we are told, watching the engagement from the English shore, with anxiety corresponding to the deep interest of the game. No account of this memorable engagement can equal the simple and animated narrative of the main actor, which we purpose to adopt. It is to be noticed, that while Jones engaged the Serapis, the Pallas fought the Countess of Scarborough. The commencement of the engagements was simultaneous,

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plishments allotted to some of Paul's female relatives would probably have been disclaimed by these ladies if purchased at the expense of the fair and spotless fame of their maternal ancestor. However, if Mr Cunningham imagined this cast of character best suited to his purposes, there is no great harm done. Few live to feel offence,—none to believe in those romantic *passages*, which owe their existence solely to the imagination of the poet. In painting Scottish scenery, and embodying romantic tradition, Mr Cunningham is in his work as much at home as is the author of "THE PILOT" in those fields of ocean which, as a novelist, he at present "possesses as his own domain."

but the Countess of Scarborough had struck while the Serapis still held desperately out.

" On the 21st," says Jones, " we saw and chased two sail off Flamborough Head ; the Pallas chased in the N. E. quarter, while the Bon Homme Richard, followed by the Vengeance, chased in the S. W. ; the one I chased, a brigantine collier in ballast, belonging to Scarborough, was soon taken, and sunk immediately afterwards, as a fleet then appeared to the southward. This was so late in the day, that I could not come up with the fleet before night; at length, however, I got so near one of them as to force her to run ashore between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. Soon after I took another, a brigantine from Holland, belonging to Sunderland, and at daylight the next morning, seeing a fleet steering towards me from the Spurn, I imagined them to be a convoy bound from London for Leith, which had been for some time expected. One of them had a pendant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force. They had not, however, courage to come on, but kept back all except the one which seemed to be armed, and that one also kept to wind-

ward, very near the land, and on the edge of dangerous shoals, where I could not with safety approach. This induced me to make a signal for a pilot, and soon afterwards two pilots' boats came off. They informed me that a ship that wore a pendant was an armed merchantman, and that a king's frigate lay there in sight, at anchor, within the Humber, waiting to take under convoy a number of merchant ships bound to the northward. The pilots imagined the Bon Homme Richard to be an English ship of war, and consequently communicated to me the private signal which they had been required to make. I endeavoured by this means to decoy the ships out of the port; but the wind then changing, and, with the tide, becoming unfavourable for them, the deception had not the desired effect, and they wisely put back. The entrance of the Humber is exceedingly difficult and dangerous, and as the Pallas was not in sight, I thought it imprudent to remain off the entrance, therefore steered out again to join the Pallas off Flamborough Head. In the night we saw and chased two ships until three o'clock in the morning, when, being at a very small distance from them, I made the pri-

vate signal of reconnoissance, which I had given to each captain before I sailed from Groix: one half of the answer only was returned. In this position both sides lay to till daylight, when the ships proved to be the Alliance and the Pallas.

" On the morning of that day, the 23d, the brig from Holland not being in sight, we chased a brigantine that appeared laying to, to windward. About noon we saw and chased a large ship that appeared coming round Flamborough Head from the northward, and at the same time I manned and armed one of the pilot-boats to send in pursuit of the brigantine, which now appeared to be the vessel that I had forced ashore. Soon after this a fleet of forty-one sail appeared off Flamborough Head, bearing N. N. E. This induced me to abandon the single ship which had then anchored in Burlington Bay; I also called back the pilot-boat, and hoisted a signal for a general chase. When the fleet discovered us bearing down, all the merchant ships crowded sail towards the shore. The two ships of war that protected the fleet at the same time steered from the land,

and made the disposition for battle. In approaching the enemy, I crowded every possible sail, and made the signal for the line of battle, to which the Alliance showed no attention. Earnest as I was for the action, I could not reach the Commodore's ship until seven in the evening, being then within pistol-shot, when he hailed the Bon Homme Richard. We answered him by firing a whole broadside.

" The battle being thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practised on both sides to gain an advantage, and rake each other; and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the Bon Homme Richard, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavours to prevent it. As I had to deal with an enemy of greatly superior force, I was under the necessity of closing with him, to prevent the advantage which he had over me in point of manœuvre. It was my intention to lay the Bon Homme Richard athwart the enemy's bow; but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and

some of our braces being shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my wish. The enemy's bowsprit, however, came over the Bon Homme Richard's poop by the mizen-mast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation, which, by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails, forced her stern close to the Bon Homme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's. When this position took place, it was eight o'clock, previous to which the Bon Homme Richard had received sundry eighteen-pound shots below the water, and leaked very much. My battery of twelve-pounders, on which I had placed my chief dependence, being commanded by Lieutenant Dale and Colonel Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen and French volunteers, was entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old eighteen-pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun-deck, they did no service whatever, except firing eight shot in all. Two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men who

were stationed to manage them. Before this time, too, Colonel de Chamillard, who commanded a party of twenty soldiers on the poop, had abandoned that station after having lost some of his men. I had now only two pieces of cannon, (nine-pounders,) on the quarter-deck, that were not silenced, and not one of the heavier cannon was fired during the rest of the action. The purser, M. Mease, who commanded the guns on the quarter-deck, being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place, and with great difficulty rallied a few men, and shifted over one of the lee quarter-deck guns, so that we afterwards played three pieces of nine-pounders upon the enemy. The tops alone seconded the fire of this little battery, and held out bravely during the whole of the action, especially the main-top, where Lieutenant Stack commanded. I directed the fire of one of the three cannon against the main-mast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and canister shot, to silence the enemy's musketry and clear her decks, which was at last effected. The enemy were, as I have

since understood, on the instant of calling for quarters, when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under-officers induced them to call to the enemy. The English Commodore asked me if I demanded quarters, and I having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with double fury. They were unable to stand the deck; but the fire of their cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of ten-pounders, was incessant; both ships were set on fire in various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language. To account for the timidity of my three under-officers, I mean the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms, I must observe, that the two first were slightly wounded, and, as the ship had received various shot under water, and one of the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fears that she would sink, and the other two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gunner to run aft on the poop, without my knowledge, to strike the colours. Fortunately for me, a cannon-ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign-staff; he was there-

fore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter, and he preferred the latter.

" All this time the Bon Homme Richard had sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by which means they would have escaped, had I not made them well fast to the Bon Homme Richard.

" At last, at half-past nine o'clock, the Alliance appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard. We called to him for God's sake to forbear firing into the Bon Homme Richard; yet they passed along the off-side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the enemy's ships for the Bon Homme Richard, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction. Besides, it was then full moonlight, and the sides of the

Bon Homme Richard were all black, while the sides of the prize were all yellow. Yet, for the greater security, I showed the signal of our reconnoissance, by putting out three lanterns, one at the head, another at the stern, and the third in the middle, in a horizontal line. Every tongue cried that he was firing into the wrong ship, but nothing availed; he passed round, firing into the Bon Homme Richard's head, stern, and broadside, and by one of his volleys killed several of my best men, and mortally wounded a good officer on the forecastle only. My situation was really deplorable; the Bon Homme Richard received various shot under water from the Alliance; the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertain a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospects became gloomy indeed. I would not, however, give up the point. The enemy's mainmast began to shake, their firing decreased fast, ours rather in-

creased, and the British colours were struck at half an hour past ten o'clock.

"This prize proved to be the British ship of war the Serapis, a new ship of forty-four guns, built on the most approved construction, with two complete batteries, one of them of eighteen-pounders, and commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson. I had yet two enemies to encounter, far more formidable than the Britons,—I mean fire and water. The Serapis was attacked only by the first, but the Bon Homme Richard was assailed by both; there was five feet water in the hold, and though it was moderate from the explosion of so much gunpowder, yet the three pumps that remained could with difficulty only keep the water from gaining. The fire broke out in various parts of the ship in spite of all the water that could be thrown in to quench it, and at length broke out as low as the powder-magazine, and within a few inches of the powder. In that dilemma I took out the powder upon deck, ready to be thrown over-board at the last extremity, and it was ten o'clock the next day (the

24th) before the fire was entirely extinguished. With respect to the situation of the Bon Homme Richard, the rudder was cut entirely off, the stern-frame and transoms were almost entirely cut away, and the timbers by the lower deck, especially from the main-mast towards the stern, being greatly decayed with age, were mangled beyond my power of description, and a person must have been an eye-witness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck, and ruin, which everywhere appeared. Humanity cannot but recoil from the prospect of such finished horror, and lament that war should be capable of producing such fatal consequences.

"After the carpenters, as well as Captain Cottineau and other men of sense, had well examined and surveyed the ship, (whieh was not finished before five in the evening,) I found every person to be convinced that it was impossible to keep the Bon Homme Richard afloat, so as to reach a port, if the wind should increase, it being then only a very moderate breeze. I had but little time to remove my wounded, which now became unavoidable, and which was effected in the

course of the night and next morning. I was determined to keep the Bon Homme Richard afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port. For that purpose, the first lieutenant of the Pallas continued on board with a party of men, to attend the pumps, with boats in waiting, ready to take them on board in case the water should gain on them too fast. The wind augmented in the night, and the next day, the 25th, so that it was impossible to prevent the good old ship from sinking. They did not abandon her till after nine o'clock; the water was then up to the lower deck, and a little after ten I saw, with inexpressible grief, the last glimpse of *the Bon Homme Richard*. No lives were lost with the ship, but it was impossible to save the stores of any sort whatever. I lost even the best part of my clothes, books, and papers; and several of my officers lost all their clothes and effects.

" Having thus endeavoured to give a clear and simple relation of the circumstances and events that have attended the little armament under my command, I shall freely submit my conduct therein to the censure of my superiors and the im-

partial public. I beg leave, however, to observe, that the force that was put under my command was far from being well composed, and as the great majority of the actors in it have appeared bent on the pursuit of *interest* only, I am exceedingly sorry that they and I have been at all concerned."

Such is the despatch which Commodore Jones transmitted from the Texel to Dr Franklin, and afterwards to Congress. It is painful to observe how often he is forced to complain of the sordidness or cowardice of his associates. To a generous and elevated mind nothing could have been more humiliating than this necessity. The pursuit of "interest alone," with which he so frequently charges his associates, is, however, a positive virtue compared with the gratuitous villany imputed to Landais, the commander of the Alliance. The alleged conduct of this person, particularly during the engagement between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, was so daring in atrocity and treachery as to exceed all reasonable belief, were it not solemnly asserted, as beyond all doubt it was firmly believed, by Jones.

The general conduct of Landais was that of a malignant madman, as much incited by the prevailing influence of frenzy as actuated by deliberate villany. His behaviour during the whole cruise was made the subject of a set of charges* drawn up by Jones in coming into the Texel, which were attested, in whole or in part, by most of the officers of the Bon Homme Richard and the Alliance. The fact of Landais firing into the Bon Homme Richard is also confirmed by the log-book,† which was preserved when the ship sunk, and by a very interesting and seaman-like narrative of the engagement, drawn up by Mr Dale,‡

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* See Appendix A.

† This battered volume, after many adventures by land and water, in Europe and America, is now in the possession of Mr George Napier, advocate.

‡ This gentleman, long since a Commodore in the service of the United States, is, or very lately was, still alive. He has for many years lived in retirement at Philadelphia, in the bosom of his family. It is but fair to state, in exculpation of Landais, that Captain Pearson, commander of the Serapis, in his despatch to the Admiralty, (see Appendix B,) repeatedly asserts, and assigns as the main cause of

then first lieutenant of the ship. The brilliant success of Jones at this time, though far short of his own hopes and projects, gave him a right to

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his defeat, that while one frigate—the Bon Homme Richard—engaged him "muzzle to muzzle," the other—the Alliance—kept sailing round him during the whole action, and raking him fore and aft, by which means she killed or wounded almost every man on the quarter-deck and main-deck. It is not easy to judge of these contradictory statements.

From the variety of unusual circumstances which occurred during the heat and confusion of this memorable affair, there can be little doubt that both commanders may have given what he honestly believed a fair relation of facts. The gunner calling for quarter, as noticed by Jones, might have induced Captain Pearson to believe that the Bon Homme Richard had struck, especially as her flag so fortuitously disappeared at the same instant. The voice of Jones, who, according to Lieutenant Dale's narrative, decidedly denied that he struck, calling out that "he had not yet begun to fight," may have been lost in the bustle and noise of the moment, or construed into words of surrender; and where could any British officer have learned to imagine the atrocity of a commander pointing his guns in the heat of a close action, not

speak out on affairs which left a deeper sting in his mind than even the perfidy of Landais. He thus concludes his despatch:—

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against the enemy, but against his own consort, as is alleged of Landais?

If any reader take the trouble to turn up the Edinburgh Review for June, 1818, referring to the loss of the Alceste and the Medusa, he will obtain a view of the character of French seamen, which will go far to verify the assertions of Paul Jones and his officers regarding Landais. Franklin either really remained, or from policy was willing to appear, sceptical as to these revolting facts, though he entertained a very bad opinion of this man. He says, "It was not at all likely either that he should have given orders to fire into the Bon Homme Richard, or that his officers would have obeyed such orders had they been given them."

If Landais was really guilty—which there is every reason to believe—his is no solitary instance of such disgraceful perfidy on the part of French seamen. After the battle of Trafalgar, it is notorious that the flying French ships, as they escaped, poured broadsides into the Spanish vessels. "The ships," says Mr Southey, "which were thus flying, were four of the enemy's van, *all French*, under Rear Admiral Dumanoir. They had borne

"I am in the highest degree sensible of the singular attentions which I have experienced from the Court of France, which I shall remember with perfect gratitude until the end of my life, and will always endeavour to merit, while I can consistent with my honour continue in the public service. I must speak plainly; as I have been always honoured with the full confidence of Congress, and as I also flattered myself with enjoying in some measure the confidence of the court of France, I could not but be astonished at the conduct of Monsieur de Chaumont, when, in the moment of my departure from Groix, he produced a paper, *a concordat*, for me to sign, in common with the officers whom I had commis-

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no part in the action; and now, when they were seeking safety in flight, they fired not only into the Victory and Royal Sovereign, (English ships,) but poured their broadsides into the captured Spanish vessels; and they were seen to back their sails, for the purpose of firing with more precision. The indignation of the Spaniards at this detestable cruelty from their allies, for whom they had fought so bravely and so profusely bled, may well be conceived."

sioned but a few days before. Had that paper, or even a less dishonourable one, been proposed to me at the beginning, I would have rejected it with just contempt, and the word *deplacement*, among others, should have been necessary. I cannot, however, even now suppose that he was authorized by the Court to make such a bargain with me. Nor can I suppose that the Minister of the Marine meant that M. de Chaumont should consider me merely as a colleague with the commanders of the other ships, and communicate to them not only all he knew but all he thought respecting our destination and operations. M. de Chaumont has made me various reproaches on account of the expense of the Bon Homme Richard, wherewith I cannot think I have been justly chargeable. M. de Chamillard can attest that the Bon Homme Richard was at last far from being well fitted or armed for war. If any person or persons who have been charged with the expense of that armament have acted wrong, the fault must not be laid to my charge. I had no authority to superintend that armament, and the persons who had authority were so far from giving

me what I thought necessary, that M. de Chaumont even refused, among other things, to allow me irons to secure the prisoners of war.

" In short, while my life remains, if I have any capacity to render good and acceptable services to the common cause, no man will step forth with greater cheerfulness and alacrity than myself; but I am not made to be dishonoured, nor can I accept of the *half-confidence* of any man living. Of course I cannot, consistent with my honour, and a prospect of success, undertake future expeditions, unless when the object and destination is communicated to me alone, and to no other person in the marine line. In cases where troops are embarked, a like confidence is due alone to their commander-in-chief. On no other condition will I ever undertake the chief command of a private expedition; and when I do not command in chief, I have no desire to be in the secret."

In the memorial drawn up for the private perusal of the King of France, Jones says that it was his intention at this time to cruise off the south-west of Ireland for twelve or fifteen days,

in order to intercept the English homeward-bound East India ships, which he had been informed would return without convoy, and sail for this point of land. This purpose, which he confined to his own breast, and which would have been rendered abortive by the misconduct of Landais, was quite compatible with the other objects of the cruise, whether these were the West India, or Hudson's Bay ships, or the Baltic fleet.

The earliness and accuracy of the information which Jones procured while he lay in the various harbours of France is not a little remarkable. Instead of receiving intelligence from the American ministers, he was enabled, through his own private channels in England and other quarters, to transmit to them information of the sailing of fleets and of the strength of convoys. His former connexions and mode of life may have given him some facilities; and money, the universal agent, never appears to have been with him an object of any consideration beyond its value as a means of obtaining professional advancement. He was able to supply the French Admiral, Count d'Orvilliers, with important information from London,

of the sailing of a large West India fleet, and even to acquaint him with private transactions on board the squadrons of Keppel and Byron.

Meanwhile the squadron of Jones, which the narrative has left behind, continued to be tossed about till the 3d of October, when it came to anchor in the Texel, contrary to the judgment of the Commodore, who wished to gain the French harbour of Dunkirk, but was, he says, overruled by his officers. The rendezvous he found, was the cause of much personal vexation to himself, though it proved of ultimate advantage to America, by hurrying on the period when the Dutch were forced from their politic neutrality. The political importance of this measure might have been foreseen by Franklin, when in the previous summer he directed Jones, on finishing his northern cruise, to take shelter in the Texel. By doing so, the American minister greatly increased the perplexity of their High Mightinesses, on whom the cabinet of London already—and with good reason—looked with suspicious eyes. By this step the Dutch were in effect precipitated into the war rather sooner than suited their crafty

and selfish policy, which, in shuffling with all parties, sought to profit by all. By compelling England to declare war, and the Dutch to declare openly for the United States, an end was virtually put to a contest, in which Britain was left to contend single-handed with her refractory colonies, then backed by France, Spain, and Holland.

Though the squadron of Jones had failed in its main purpose, and had neither captured fleets, nor put wealthy cities to ransom, the blow struck at the maritime pride of England could not fail to be highly gratifying to the Americans. Dr Franklin immediately wrote, warmly congratulating the victor.—"For some days," says Franklin, "after the arrival of your express, scarce any thing was talked of at Paris and Versailles, but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that on others,—but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion.

"The ministry are much dissatisfied with

Captain Landais, and Monsieur de Sartine has signified to me in writing, that it is expected that I should send for him to Paris, and call him to account for his conduct, particularly for deferring so long his coming to your assistance; by which means, it is supposed, the States lost some of their valuable citizens, and the king lost many of his subjects, volunteers in your ship, together with the ship itself.

"I have, accordingly, written to him this day, acquainting him, that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruise, and neglect of his duty in the engagement; that a court-martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an earlier opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defence. I know not whether he will obey my orders, nor what the ministry would do with him if he comes; but I suspect that they may, by some of their concise operations, save the trouble of a court-martial. It will, however, be

well for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account to Congress. In the mean time it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under an arrest, and in that case, as well as if he comes, that you should either appoint some person to the command, or take it upon yourself; for I know of no person to recommend to you as fit for that station.

"I am uneasy about your prisoners, (504 in number,)—I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in the British prisons."

Jones also received the thanks of the Duc de la Vauguyon, the French ambassador at the Hague, and the congratulations of numerous friends and admirers.

And now commenced those scenes of diplomatic altercation between the States of Holland and the British ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, which in the following year ended in the declaration of war. The Dutch had already committed many

virtual infractions of the treaty of alliance with Britain. It was from Holland that France openly obtained her maritime stores. But a greater eyesore was the American squadron and its daring commander, with the captured frigates, riding in triumph in the Texel. Jones also appeared openly at Amsterdam. He was allowed to establish an hospital in the forts of the Texel for his wounded men and his wounded prisoners; though in this object of common humanity Sir Joseph Yorke readily concurred.

The squadron came into the Texel on the 3d October, and on the 13th Sir Joseph Yorke presented a brief and energetic memorial, peremptorily demanding that the captured frigates should be stopped in the Texel—the frigates "taken by one Paul Jones, a subject of the King of Great Britain, who, according to treaties and the laws of war, falls under the class of rebels and pirates."

Jones, though he must have been prepared for the demand, was, it may be presumed, not a little indignant at the unceremonious style in which he was designated by the English ambassador,—

"that little thing Sir Joseph," as he pettishly terms him. In this emergency he endeavoured to secure the friendship of certain powerful individuals. With a young, brave, and, above all, a successful commander, there is ever a ready sympathy; and even at this time, though the show of peace was still sedulously kept up, the cause of America had many warm friends among the Dutch, especially in the maritime towns.

It would have required greater magnanimity than most men are endowed with, had Jones forgiven the appellations bestowed on him, especially if any lurking consciousness rankled in his mind that his character and position were equivocal, and apt, at least in England, to be misconstrued. The distrust evinced by Le Ray Chaumont, and the consequent restraints imposed on his freedom as a commander, had already been sufficiently galling; and this was a fresh corrosion of the same sore. In a statement made long afterwards, Jones mentions that Sir Joseph Yorke having failed to obtain his person from the Dutch government, endeavoured to have him privately kidnapped,—a thing in itself

extremely improbable, and for which there was, in all likelihood, no other foundation than the gossip of Amsterdam. Sir Joseph never even directly asked that Jones should be given up, while he loudly reiterated his demand for the restitution of the captured frigates.

The firmness and address displayed by Sir Joseph Yorke on this occasion did credit to his diplomatic abilities. He had resided long at the Hague, and had obtained great influence with the Prince of Orange and what may be called the court-party. His services on this occasion were afterwards rewarded by a peerage. Captain Pearson was also subsequently distinguished by many marks of the confidence and approbation of his sovereign. The defeated party were indeed more highly rewarded than the victor; for the subsequent honours heaped on Jones were more the consequence of dexterous management at Versailles, six months after the affair took place, than the natural and spontaneous fruits of his brilliant achievement. Immediately on his exchange, Captain Pearson received the honour of knighthood, which, following this period of eclipse, must have

been peculiarly gratifying to his feelings; and the Royal-Exchange Assurance Company presented him and Captain Piercy of the Countess of Scarborough with services of plate "for their gallant defence of the Baltic fleet."

The peremptory demand of Sir Joseph Yorke threw their High Mightinesses into no little perplexity. They were not yet prepared for war with England, nor did they wish to risk offending France, and alienating the affections of the young Transatlantic republic, which might long remember unkindness, but would feel doubly grateful for succour shown in the season of adversity, and the struggle for existence. The States of Holland in those awkward circumstances temporized with much dexterity, sheltering themselves under those cautious maxims of policy which had hitherto governed the United Provinces in questions of the like nature. These maxims dictated that they should decline deciding on the validity of captures in the open seas of vessels not belonging to their own subjects. They afforded at all times shelter in their harbours to all ships whatsoever, if driven in by stress of weather; but compelled

armed ships with their prizes to put to sea again as soon as possible, without permitting them to dispose of their cargoes; and this conduct they were to follow in the case of Jones.

This did not, however, extricate the Dutch government from the dilemma. As an American officer they durst not protect Jones, which would have been in effect a recognition of the rebellious colonies; and the French commission under which it was alleged he acted could never be forthcoming. They therefore were compelled to order him to put to sea with his squadron forthwith, though they "declined to pass judgment on the person and prizes of Paul Jones." They also publicly forbade the ships to be furnished with naval or warlike stores, save such as were absolutely necessary to carry them to the first foreign port, "that all suspicion of their being furnished *here* may drop."*

It was even agreed, though the measure met with strong opposition, that the American squadron should be expelled by force from the Texel.

* See manifesto, Appendix.

This much was obtained by the firmness of Sir Joseph Yorke.

The situation of Jones, all along unpleasant, was now become highly critical. The Dutch government, whom Sir Joseph neither suffered to slumber nor sleep, incessantly annoyed the French ambassador, who in his turn assailed Jones. He was thus placed between two fires, threatened by the Dutch to be driven from the Texel, while English ships were placed at its entrance to interrupt his exit, and while, to "make assurance double sure," light squadrons were cruising about in all directions to prevent his gaining any French or Spanish port, should he be fortunate enough to escape the vessels on the more immediate watch. So deep and galling was the wound this individual had inflicted on the national pride, that the capture of "one Paul Jones" would at this time have been more welcome to England than if she had conquered a rich argosy.

One main object of Jones being ordered to the Texel on the termination of his northern cruise, was, as has been noticed, to convoy a French fleet with naval stores to Brest, and to get out

the Indian. The same officious commissary, whose talkative propensities and suspicious disposition had so frequently baffled the projects of Jones, had again been at work ; and although the Dutch government might have winked at the sailing of the fleet under his convoy, the measure would have been rendered abortive by premature disclosure. Jones complained to Franklin, and to Sartine, the minister of the French marine, to whom during the time he lay in the Texel he had, as usual, been transmitting some of the many projects for maritime expeditions of which his scheming brain was ever so fertile. He also in this interval drew up a refreshing memorial for Congress, containing a narrative of his professional life and services.

Before receiving any answer to his communication to Sartine, Jones was ordered to attend the French ambassador at the Hague, the Duc de la Vauguyon. He went privately to the Hague to avoid unnecessary offence, and at a long conference it was agreed that he should forthwith sail for Dunkirk with his numerous prisoners. As they were now situated they could scarcely

be considered in security, and both Franklin and Jones, as a personal kindness, had solicited and obtained the consent of the French government that these prisoners should be exchanged for the Americans, then prisoners in England.

The Serapis had been dismasted in the late engagement, and as it was probable that, even on the short voyage to Dunkirk, Jones might encounter his watchful foe in some force, it was necessary to refit his ship. For this purpose he went to Amsterdam. Thus time wore on. The English ambassador from remonstrances came to threats. The Dutch, driven to their wit's end, remonstrated and menaced by turns; and Jones, unable to be longer silent, wrote as follows to the French ambassador:—

> "On board the Bon Homme Richard's Prize the Ship of War Serapis, at the Texel, November 4th, 1779.

"My Lord,

"This morning the commandant of the Road sent me word to come and speak to him on board his ship. He had before him on the table a letter which he said was from the Prince of Orange.

He questioned me very closely whether I had a French commission, and, if I had, he almost insisted upon seeing it. In conformity to your advice "Cet avis donné au commencement n'etoit plus de saison depuis l'admission de l'escadre sous Pavillon Americain," I told him that my French commission not having been found among my papers since the loss of the Bon Homme Richard, I feared it had gone to the bottom in that ship; but that, if it was really lost, it would be an easy matter to procure a duplicate of it from France. The commandant appeared to be very uneasy and anxious for my departure. I have told him that as there are eight of the enemy's ships laying wait for me at the south entrance, and four more at the north entrance of the port, I was unable to fight more than three times my force, but that he might rest assured of my intention to depart with the utmost expedition, whenever I found a possibility to go clear.

"I should be very happy, my Lord, if I could tell you of my being ready. I should have departed long ago, if I had met with common assistance; but for a fortnight past I have every day

expected the necessary supply of water from Amsterdam in cisterns, and I am last night informed that it cannot be had without I send up water-casks. The provision, too, that was ordered the day I returned to Amsterdam from the Hague, is not yet sent down; and the spars that have been sent from Amsterdam are spoiled in the making. None of the iron-work that was ordered for the Serapis is yet completed, so that I am, even to this hour, in want of hinges to hang the lower gun-ports. My officers and men lost their clothes and beds in the Bon Homme Richard, and they have yet got no supply. The bread that has been twice a week sent down from Amsterdam to feed my people, has been, literally speaking, *rotten*, and the consequence is that they are falling sick.

"It is natural also that they should be discontented, while I am not able to tell them that they will be paid the value of their property in the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough, if either or both of them should be lost or taken after sailing from hence.

"Thus you see, my Lord, that my prospects are

far from pleasing. I have but few men, and they are discontented. If you can authorize me to promise them, at all hazards, that their property in the prizes shall be made good, and that they shall receive the necessary clothing and bedding, &c. or money to buy them, I believe I shall soon be able to bring them again into a good humour. In the meantime I will send a vessel or two out to reconnoitre the offing and to bring me word. Whatever may be the consequence of my having put into this harbour, I must observe that it was done contrary to my opinion, and I consented to it only because the majority of my colleagues were earnest for it," &c. &c.

The French government, to rid themselves of farther importunity, now fell on a new expedient. The cruise was suddenly declared at an end, and the ships were dismissed; Franklin agreed to place the captured frigates under the flag of France, and that Jones should be removed to the only ship now ostensibly American, the Alliance, which, on Landais having been ordered to Paris to answer to the plenipotentiaries for his misconduct on the cruise, had been left without a commander.

Jones received this intimation with disgust and

chagrin ; but such were the orders of Sartine and Franklin, such the course sound policy dictated ; and after an altercation lasting, he states, for thirteen hours, with the French ambassador at the Hague, he most reluctantly left the Serapis, whose deck seemed the theatre of his glory, and went on board the Alliance. The squadron soon afterwards sailed under a Dutch convoy, and Jones was left alone in his new ship. His French commission had never yet been produced ; the English ambassador had repeatedly alleged that he held no legal commission from any sovereign ;* and to relieve the Dutch government from their

* About this time, a seaman's wife of Burlington addressed a letter to Sir Joseph Yorke at the Hague, imploring tidings of her husband, of whom, since the engagment of Jones with the Serapis, she had never heard, and who, she feared, had fallen in that fight. Sir Joseph gallantly and humanely complied with the poor Englishwoman's request, and as he was aware that his epistle to Mrs Burnot would appear in all the English and French newspapers, he, with considerable covert-humour, contrived to have a hit at the shuffling policy of the Dutch, and the chamelion character of the squadron they sheltered, while he replied to the seaman's wife :—" Mrs Burnot, As soon

dilemma, and, probably to ensure the personal safety of Jones in case of the worst, a regular commission was now tendered him by the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty, but of a kind so degrading that there is no doubt he would,

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as I received your letter of the 7th instant, I lost no time in making inquiries after your gallant husband, Mr Richard Burnot; and have now great pleasure in congratulating you upon his being alive and well, on board the Countess of Scarborough, at the Texel. I find he had been burnt with an explosion of gunpowder, but is now quite recovered. He sends me word, that he, as you know, could not write, and therefore hoped I would let you know he was well, which I do with infinite satisfaction. It will still be greater, if I can get him exchanged, which I am doing my best endeavours for; but as the people who took him are sometimes French and sometimes rebels, as it suits their convenience, that renders this affair more difficult than it would be if they allowed themselves to be French, because I could then settle the exchange at once. I am happy to be able to give such agreeable news to the wife of my brave countryman, and I am very sincerely your most faithful humble servant,

"JOSEPH YORKE.

"*Hague, Nov.* 26, 1779."

far rather than have accepted it, have chosen the alternative of falling into the power of the English. Whatever were his personal difficulties, he was at this time in "the blaze of his fame," "talked of," says Franklin, "at Paris and Versailles," celebrated throughout Europe and America. His temper and blood were at no time very cool on sudden excitement, and the excess of his indignation may be imagined when he received the insulting offer of a Letter of Marque. We know not what to make of the frequent boasts of Jones in after-periods of life, of never accepting any commission save from Congress. The concordat of Le Ray Chaumont, and the Letter of Marque of Sartine and the Duc de la Vauguyon, it must be confessed, offered but slight temptation. Jones, though far from being naturally inclined either to conceal or depreciate his professional talents and personal services, never overestimated himself half so much as he was at this time undervalued by the vacillating and capricious government with which he had to do. If the true ability of a statesman is best seen in his capacity for selecting and managing the in-

struments of his power, Sartine in this instance, as in many others, sadly betrayed his own incapacity. Under the first galling feelings of this insult, Jones wrote the following spirited letter to the French ambassador. It is one of the best productions of his pen, precisely because it is the spontaneous dictate of the most honourable impulses of his spirit :—

" *To His Excellency the Duc de la Vauguyon, Ambassador from France at the Hague.*

" Alliance, Texel, December 13th, 1779.

" My Lord,

" Perhaps there are many men in the world who would esteem as an honour the commission that I have this day refused. My rank from the beginning knew no superior in the marine of America, how then must I be humbled were I to accept a letter-of-marque!—I should, my Lord, esteem myself inexcusable, were I to accept even a commission of equal or superior denomination to that I bear, unless I were previously authorized

by Congress, or some other competent authority in Europe. And I must tell you, that, on my arrival at Brest from the Irish Channel, Count D'Orvilliers offered to procure for me from Court a commission of "Captain de Vaisseaux," which I did not then accept for the same reason, although the war between France and England was not then begun, and of course the commission of France would have protected me from an enemy of superior force.

"It is a matter of the highest astonishment to me, that, after so many compliments and fair professions, the Court should offer the present insult to my understanding, and suppose me capable of disgracing my present commission. I confess that I never merited all the praise bestowed on my past conduct, but I also feel that I have far less merited such a reward. Where profession and practice are so opposite, I am no longer weak enough to form a wrong conclusion. They may think as they please of me; for where I cannot continue my esteem, praise or censure from any man is to me a matter of indifference.

"I am much obliged to them, however, for hav-

ing at last fairly opened my eyes, and enabled me to discover truth from falsehood.

" The prisoners shall be delivered agreeable to the orders which you have done me the honour to send me from his Excellency the American ambassador in France.

" I will also with great pleasure, not only permit a part of my seamen to go on board the ships under your Excellency's orders, but I will also do my utmost to prevail with them to embark freely; and if I can now or hereafter, by any other honourable means, facilitate the success or the honour of his Majesty's arms, I pledge myself to you as his ambassador, that none of his own subjects would bleed in his cause with greater freedom than myself, an American.

" It gives me the more pain, my Lord, to write this letter, because the Court has enjoined you to prepare what would destroy my peace of mind, and my future veracity in the opinion of the world.

" When, *with the consent of Court* and by order of the American ambassador, I gave American commissions to French officers, I did not fill up those commissions to command privateers, nor

even for a rank *equal* to that of their commissions in the marine of France. They were promoted to rank *far superior*,—and why?—not from personal friendship, nor from my knowledge of their services and abilities, (the men and their characters being entire strangers to me,) but from the respect which I believed America would wish to show for the service of France.

"While I remained eight months seemingly forgot by the Court at Brest, many commissions such as that in question were offered to me; and I believe, (when I am in pursuit of *plunder*,) I can still obtain such an one without application to Court.

"I hope, my Lord, that my behaviour through life will ever entitle me to the continuance of your good wishes and opinion, and that you will take occasion to make mention of the warm and personal affection with which my heart is impressed towards his Majesty.

"I am," &c. &c.

This letter Jones enclosed to Franklin, to whom he gave his passionate feelings fuller breath

in an epistle very characteristic both of the man and the seaman. "I hope," he says, "that the within copy of my letter to the Duc de la Vauguyon will meet your approbation; for I am persuaded that it never could be your intention or wish that I should be made the tool of any great r—— whatever; or that the commission of America should be overlaid by the dirty piece of parchment which I have this day rejected! They have played upon my good humour too long already, but the spell is at last dissolved. They would play me off with assurance of the personal and particular esteem of the King, to induce me to do what would render me contemptible even in the eyes of my own servants! Accustomed to speak untruths themselves, they would also have me to give under my hand that I am a liar and a scoundrel. They are mistaken, and I would tell them what you did to your naughty servant. 'We have too contemptible an opinion of one another's understanding to live together.' I could tell them too, that if M—— de C——* had not taken such

* De la Ray Chaumont.

safe precautions to keep me honest by means of his famous *concordat*, and to support me by so many able colleagues, these great men would not have been reduced to such mean shifts; for the prisoners could have been landed at Dunkirk the day that I entered the Texel, and I could have brought in double the numbers."

The whole of these effusions were submitted to M. Dumas, a new friend Jones had acquired, who had lately been appointed agent for American affairs at Amsterdam.*

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* This gentleman is a most amusing specimen of the diplomatist in the small way, busy and bustling about nothing, shrouding every trifle in mystery;—one who writes about "the great man," and hints obscurely at "the certain friend in high station," and intimates dark meanings through which every body could see, in any way save simply and directly. America was at this early stage of her history singularly prolific of these mysterious personages. Bancroft, Mr W. Temple Franklin, who was, however, still a lad, and even Commodore Jones, disported themselves in this sort of innocent diplomacy, employing a cipher, or numbers, in their correspondence about their own personal affairs, as if the eyes of all the world had

The letter of Jones to the ambassador of France produced the desired effect. A soothing epistle was despatched to the sturdy and indignant Anglo-American. "I perceive with pain, my dear Commodore," says the Duke, "that you do not view your situation in the right light; and I can assure you that the ministers of the King have no intention to cause you the least disagreeable feeling, as the honourable testimonials of the esteem of his Majesty which I send you ought to convince you. I hope you will not doubt the sincere desire with which you have inspired me to procure you every satisfaction you may merit. It cannot fail to incite you to give new proofs of your zeal for the common cause of France and America. I flatter myself to renew, before long, the occasion, and to procure you the means to increase still more the glory you have already acquired. I am already occupied with all the interest I promised you; and if my views are

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been watchful of their motions. Franklin alone kept clear of this folly. His letters contain no blanks, no ominous stars, no mystification of important nothings.

realized, as I have every reason to believe, you will be at all events perfectly content; but I must pray you not to hinder my project by delivering yourself to the expression of those strong sensations to which you appear to give way, and for which there is really no foundation. You appear to possess full confidence in the justice and kindness of the King; rely also upon the same sentiments on the part of his ministers."

The "dear Commodore" of the Duke was somewhat mollified by this apology, but far from being satisfied; nor did he slip so inviting an opportunity of proclaiming his grievances. "Were I to form," he says, "my opinion of the ministry from the treatment that I experienced while at Brest, or from their want of confidence in me afterwards, exclusive of what has taken place since I had the misfortune to enter this port, I will appeal to your Excellency, as a man of candour and ingenuity, whether I ought to desire to prolong a connexion that has made me so unhappy, and wherein I have given so very little satisfaction. M. le Chevalier de Lironcourt has lately made me reproaches on account of the expense that,

he says, France has been at to give me reputation, in preference to twenty captains of the royal navy, better qualified than myself, and who, each of them, solicited for the command that was lately given to me !

" This, I confess, is quite new, and indeed surprising to me ; and, had I known it before I left France, I certainly should have resigned in favour of the twenty men of superior merit. I do not, however, think that his first assertion is true ; for the ministers must be unworthy of their places were they capable of squandering the public money only to give an individual reputation ; and as to the second, I fancy the Court will not thank him for having given me that information, whether true or false. I may add here, that with a force so ill composed, and with powers so limited, I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonour for one of gaining reputation ; and had not the plea of humanity in favour of the unfortunate Americans in English dungeons superseded all consideration of self, I faithfully assure you, my Lord, that I would not have proceeded under such circumstances from Groix. I do not imbibe

hasty prejudices against any individuals; but when many and repeated circumstances, conspiring in one point, have inspired me with disesteem towards any person, I must see convincing proof of reformation in such person before my heart can beat again with affection in his favour; for the mind is free, and can be bound only by kind treatment."

The insult, as he justly conceived it, which Jones had received from France, did not increase his inclination to hoist the flag of that nation on board of the Alliance; nor had he longer any secret motive to refuse, or at least to delay obedience to the reiterated and peremptory mandate of the Dutch government, ordering him to leave the Texel. America was now his sole hope—to reach its coasts his only aim. "I am not sorry," he writes his friend Morris, "that my connexion with them (the French government) is at an end. In the course of that connexion I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonour for one of reputation; and all the honour or profit that France could bestow should not tempt me again to undertake the same service, with an armament equally ill composed

and with powers equally limited. It affords me the most exalted pleasure to reflect, that when I return to America I can say I have served in Europe at my own expense, and without the fee or reward of a court. When the prisoners we have taken are safely lodged in France, I shall have no further business in Europe, as the liberty of all our fellow-citizens who now suffer in English prisons will then be secured."

He was now detained only by contrary winds, and eagerly waited for a fair opportunity of eluding the vigilance of those on the watch to intercept him. After three months spent in continual altercation, imbittered by the animosity of Landais, the babbling and suspicions of Le Ray Chaumont, the conduct of the French ministers, and the discontents of his officers and men respecting the prize-money, Jones sailed from the Texel on the 27th December, 1779.

The only consolation Jones received at this period was effecting the exchange of the American prisoners in England. This was, he said, "all the reward he wished." He had also wrung some promises from the ambassador in behalf of

his discontented officers and crew, who, as the prizes had not been valued in Holland, and were liable to be retaken in getting into a French port, had no assurance that they would ever obtain any reward for their courage and their toil. The prizes sent into Bergen in Norway by Landais had been claimed by the English consul, and given up by the Danish government, who were very unlikely to grant the Americans any indemnity. Even more severely than these incidental hardships, Jones felt the grumbling of the French agents at the expense he necessarily incurred in refitting his ships. "It had cost France too much to give him fame," was the taunting observation bitterly felt and not easily forgotten.

It must, under all the circumstances, have been with considerable anxiety that Jones sailed from the Texel, with the alternative of rashly braving or fortunately eluding the English: he was not in condition to meet them even in equal force. The Alliance, by the gross misconduct of Landais, who was as bad a seaman as he was an officer, was in the worst condition. The officers were, as Jones states, "idle and drunken; the men filthy and

in bad subordination, and many of them sick of an epidemic illness;" the vessel was, besides, badly armed, and the powder of bad quality. The last evil Jones remedied; and, putting a bold face on the matter, whatever might be his secret feelings, he thus exultingly wrote Dumas on leaving the Texel:—"Alliance at sea, 27th December:—I am here, my dear Sir, with a good wind at east, under my best American colours. So far you have your wish. What may be the event of this critical moment I know not; I am, not however, without good hopes."

The memorial, drawn up by Jones himself for the King of France, contains the best account that is extant of his escape and of the progress of this ticklish voyage. "He passed," he states, "along the Flemish banks, and, getting the windward of the enemy's fleet of observation in the North Sea, he the next day passed through the Straits of Dover, in full view of the enemy's fleet in the Downs. The day following Captain Jones ran the Alliance past the Isle of Wight, in view of the enemy's fleet at Spithead, and in two days more got safe through the Channel, having pass-

ed by windward in sight of several of the enemy's large two-decked cruising ships. Captain Jones wished to carry with him some prizes and prisoners to France; but the Alliance, by the arrangement Captain Landais had made of the ballast at L'Orient, was out of trim, and could not sail fast, her sails being too thin and old for cold latitudes. He steered to the southward, and cruised for some days without success off Cape Finisterre. On the 16th of January, 1780, Captain Jones, to shun a gale of wind, and procure a sound anchor, (for he had left the Texel with only one,) ran into Corogne. He was very kindly received in Spain, but sailed again, and arrived at Groix on the 10th February, having taken no prizes."

On gaining L'Orient, Jones lost no time in beginning to refit his ship and obtain military stores. A board of Admiralty had by this time been established by Congress, and one of its first acts was to order home the Alliance. In making the ships under his command fit for sea, whether "in battle or in breeze," Jones never grudged or even thought of expense, and on the present occasion

his professional liberality of spirit far outran the frugal genius of Franklin. The anxious and almost pathetic remonstrances addressed to him by the republican sage are as amusing as they are characteristic. The court of France had demurred to incurring farther expense for this refractory hero and his American ship. "The whole expense will fall upon me," cries Franklin, "and I am ill provided to bear it, having so many unexpected calls upon me from all quarters. I therefore beg you would have mercy on me, put me to as little charge as possible, and take nothing you can possibly do without. As to sheathing with copper it is totally out of the question."

By the middle of April, the Alliance (notwithstanding the prayers of Franklin) was, by the care of her commander, pronounced by himself one of the most complete frigates in France.

Nearly a month before the Alliance having been, as was said, ordered home to America with certain supplies of arms and warlike stores furnished by France, Franklin urged the immediate sailing of the ship as strongly as he could with propriety, and wished its commander a prosperous voyage. He even stretched a point to

furnish those of the former crew of the Bon Homme Richard, now on board the Alliance, with a small sum of money, as they had not yet realized a *sou* of their prize-money. This was done to allay discontent and send the men home in good humour. But neither the Commodore nor his crew were yet in trim for sea.

Jones had made repeated attempts to obtain an adjustment of the prize-money, and now meditated a journey to Court ostensibly to solicit a final settlement. A person in office had about this time excited his indignation by meanly claiming the merit of some or all of his manifold projects; and it is probable that various other motives and personal interests disposed him to undertake this memorable journey. Having on a former occasion verified the truth of the maxim, which led him to give the celebrated name of Bon Homme Richard to his ship, he determined once more to speed his errand by doing it himself. He was aware that, though disliked or envied by the marine service of France, he was popular with the Court and the nation, who were about this time in the very height and fervour of the American mania. On this knowledge he proceeded to Versailles.

CHAPTER VII.

JONES at no time neglected to keep himself alive in the memory of his Court friends and official patrons,—a species of attention necessary to a professional man everywhere, at least in the commencement of his career, and particularly so at that period in France. While superintending the refitting of the Alliance, he had been corresponding with La Fayette, the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and others of his former great friends, and by them he might have been advised to repair to Versailles to claim justice for his people in the affair of the prize-money. If such was his only business, it does not appear to have been much advanced by his appearance at this crisis; but the reception he personally met from many individuals among the higher classes of society and the leaders of fashion, when Americans and republicanism were the infatuating novel-

ties of the day, must have been highly gratifying to his feelings and to his insatiable love of distinction. The American Commodore, the conqueror of the haughty English, insulted by the degrading offer of a letter-of-marque at Amsterdam, became the hero, and, what was nearly the same thing, the *lion* of the day in Paris. He was everywhere feasted and caressed; and, as if to make ample amends for the gratuitous insult offered him by the ministers, he was presented by the King with a gold sword, bearing the following honourable inscription:—"VINDICATI MARIS LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR STRENUO VINDICI." Leave was requested from Congress to invest him with the military Order of Merit,—an honour which had never been conferred on any one before who had not actually borne arms under the commission of France. An official letter was also addressed to him by his ancient tormentor, M. Sartine, expressive of the highest approbation of his conduct, and esteem for his personal character. This much was to be gained by a man of talent and address appearing in his own cause at the Court of France; nor is there

any lack of charity in supposing that, had Jones remained quiet at L'Orient, the victor of the Serapis, and the generous and patriotic liberator of the American prisoners, would not have sunk beneath the load of Court honours. The secret history of the manner in which services of plate, knighthoods, and letters of thanks, are sometimes obtained, would form a curious and not unedifying chapter in the story of many a professional man's life. In the present instance they were amply merited. They were as proudly received; and did equal honour to the royal donor and the individual distinguished by his favour. Jones was exactly of the sanguine, ambitious, and loyal cast of character, which leads men to prize at their full value those coveted marks of princely approbation. The gold sword and the accompanying Order were the pride and the boast of his future life.

Testimonies of kindness and esteem, of a kind even more gratifying to his private feelings, were not wanting. Of this brilliant period he long afterwards says, in speaking of himself, " he received at Paris, and other parts of the kingdom,

the most flattering applause and public approbation wherever he appeared. Both the great and the learned sought his acquaintance in private life, and honoured him with particular marks of friendship. At Court he was always received with a kindness which could only have arisen from a fixed esteem."

While the French Court were thus in the vein of caressing and bestowing, Jones solicited and obtained the Ariel frigate to accompany the Alliance to America, with stores for Washington's army. Nor in all probability was he averse to an increase of force, should fortune throw any English ships in his way on the homeward voyage. The Ariel he intended to man from the supernumeraries of the Alliance and the lately exchanged American prisoners. The affair of the prize-money was put in train, as far as fair promises and preliminary orders may go, and in high spirits Jones took leave of the French Court and capital, and returned to L'Orient, ready, as he conceived, to quit France, and furnished, by dint of his indefatigable genius, with an official letter from the Minister of Marine to Congress,

enumerating his services in Europe, and recommending him to favour, and consequently to advancement.

While Jones was absent in Paris, his ship had been the scene of a mutinous intrigue, of which the wretched Landais, though apparently the promoter, was in reality at first only the tool.

This intrigue originated with Mr Arthur Lee, who had held a subordinate diplomatic appointment in France, and was now about to return to America. The real cause of this person's conduct at this time appears to have been dislike of Franklin, and a mean jealousy of the consideration in which this truly great man was held, both by friend and foe, in Europe as well as in America, while the vast merits of the patriotic Mr Lee were overlooked. When the affair of Landais had been originally discussed, Lee, in the spirit of factious opposition, had gone openly against the opinion of Franklin and the other plenipotentiaries, and taken part with the mutinous, and, as it afterwards turned out, mad Frenchman, on what he was pleased to call constitutional grounds.

Landais had originally received the command of the Alliance from Congress. When ordered to head-quarters to account for his conduct, he voluntarily left his ship, and soon afterwards Jones was officially ordered to quit the Serapis, and assume command of the Alliance, which, as has been seen, he did much against his inclination. Meanwhile Landais was ordered to return to America, that cognizance might be taken of his conduct before the proper tribunal. In this order he appeared to acquiesce; and he was furnished with money by Franklin to bear his charges. On his arrival at L'Orient, it seems to have been adroitly insinuated into his naturally ricketty brains, that Franklin and the other plenipotentiaries had exceeded their powers in superseding him and ordering him to America; and that Congress having bestowed his commission, to Congress alone was he bound to surrender it. The same doctrine was diligently promulgated among the seamen of the Alliance, and readily received by many of the officers. The delay of the prize-money, and the non-payment of the

seamen's arrears, gave a strong handle to the discontented and designing. It was artfully represented to the disaffected crew, that while Jones, their new commander, basked in the sunshine of Court favour at Versailles, he either neglected or compromised their rights and interests, and hesitated to demand justice for his men from those who heaped favours on himself, and loaded him alone with benefits and honours, while those who had shared his toils and achieved the glory he claimed were neglected and forgotten. There was some colour for complaint. Jones felt his error, and, in writing to a friend about the discontent of his crew, says, "I have been to blame for having returned from Paris without having absolutely insisted on the previous payment of my men." These men he had found on his return sullen, alienated, and almost in open mutiny.

Landais had now determined, to assume by force the command of the Alliance, unjustly, as he said, wrested from him; and the officers and men prepared a memorial, addressed to the plenipotentiaries, setting forth their grievances and their wishes. Landais, to do the business with becom-

ing modesty, and propriety, expressed a desire to be formally reinstated* in his command.

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* Franklin's letter in reply to the modest demand of this Frenchman is as indicative of his strong good sense and clear-sighted integrity as any thing that ever issued from his pen. Of this sagacious person one might almost think it was because "honesty was the best policy" that he loved it. He admired truth for its utility more than its native beauty; and employed it accordingly with singular success in his dealings with men, where others more short-sighted, if not less sincere, would have used subterfuge and trick only to counteract their own purposes. It is thus he wrote Landais:—"No one ever learned the opinion I formed of you from inquiry made into your conduct. I kept it entirely to myself. I have not even hinted it in my letters to America, because I would not hazard giving to any one a bias to your prejudice. By communicating *a part of that opinion* privately to you I can do no harm, for you may burn it. I should not give you the pain of reading it, if your demand did not make it necessary. I think you then so imprudent, so litigious, and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order, and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success, are, where you preside, impossible. These are within my observation and apprehension. Your military operations I leave to

Franklin, whose feelings, whether as a public or private man, must have been grossly outraged by this proceeding, stifled his indignation, and, by every argument likely to convince their reason, or influence their passions, endeavoured to recall these misled men to a sense of their duty.

No minister ever took half the pains to conciliate a set of wrongheaded malcontents, whom the power of France could have enabled him to crush at once. Some of the arguments he addressed to their professional feelings and pride are exceedingly subtle. The officers and crew of the Alliance were naturally indignant at the charge of having fired into the Bon Homme Richard during the engagement with the Serapis. In relation to this affair, Franklin states, "though I declined any judgment of his (Landais's) manœu-

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more capable judges. If, therefore, I had twenty ships of war in my disposition, I should not give one of them to Captain Landais. The same temper which *excluded* him from the French marine would weigh equally with me; of course I shall not replace him in the Alliance."

vres in the fight, I have given it as my opinion, (to Congress,) after examining the affair, that it was not at all likely, either that he should have given orders to fire into the Bon Homme Richard, or that his officers would have obeyed such an order had it been given them. Thus I have taken what care I could of your honour in that particular. You will therefore excuse me if I am a little concerned for it in another. If it should come to be publicly known that you had the strongest aversion to Captain Landais, who had used you basely, and that it is only since the last year's cruise, and the appointment of Commodore Jones to the command, that you request to be again under your old captain, I fear suspicions and reflections may be thrown upon you by the world, as if this change of sentiment may have arisen from your observation during the cruise, that Captain Jones loved close fighting, that Captain Landais was skilful in keeping out of harm's way, and that you therefore thought yourself safer with the latter. For myself, I believe you to be brave men, and lovers of your country and its glorious cause; and I am per-

suaded you have only been ill-advised, and misled by the artful and malicious misrepresentations of some persons I guess at. Take in good part this friendly counsel from an old man who is your friend. Go home peaceably with your ship. Do your duty faithfully and cheerfully. Behave respectfully to your commander, and I am persuaded he will do the same to you. Thus you will not only be happier in your voyage, but recommend yourselves to the future favours of Congress and of your country."

Such was the conciliatory tone in which Franklin addressed these turbulent and discontented men. It were to be wished that his good temper and calmness of reason had produced the effect that might have been expected. The failure proves that something besides reason is at times necessary in governing seamen.

In a letter to Jones he explains the affair, and relates the measures he had taken in consequence. "Saturday morning," he says, "I received a letter signed by about 115 of the sailors of the Alliance, declaring that they would not raise the anchor, nor depart from L'Orient, till they had six months' wages paid them, and the utmost

farthing of their prize-money, including the ships sent into Norway, and until *their legal captain, P. Landais*, was restored to them. This mutiny has undoubtedly been excited by that captain; probably by making them believe that satisfaction has been received for those Norway prizes delivered up to the English," &c. &c. "That he is concerned in this mutiny he has been foolish enough to furnish us with proofs, the sailors' letter being not only enclosed under a cover directed to me in his hand-writing, but he also, in the same writing, interlined the words, *their legal captain, P. Landais*, which happens to contain his signature. I immediately went to Versailles to demand the assistance of government, and on showing the letter, by which his guilt plainly appeared, an order was immediately granted, sent away the same evening, for apprehending and imprisoning him, and orders were (promised to be) given at the same time to the commissary of the port to afford you all kind of assistance to facilitate your departure." The promises thus given were very ill kept. The mutiny had now reached the crisis. On the morning of the 13th June, before going on shore

to superintend the equipment of the Ariel, Jones caused his appointment to the Alliance to be read on the deck of that ship, and, addressing the assembled crew, demanded that whoever had any complaint to prefer against him should now speak out. "There was," he says, "every appearance of contentment and subordination;" and again, "I am certain the people love me and would readily obey me." The proofs of this affection were of a very unusual kind. No sooner had Jones quitted the ship, than Landais came on board and usurped the command.

As soon as intelligence of this wild measure reached Franklin, Landais was ordered to quit the ship, and the officers were commanded to obey Jones alone. To Jones, who was in the greatest perplexity, he wrote, "You are likely to have great trouble. I wish you well through it. You have shown your abilities in fighting, —you have now an opportunity of showing the other necessary part, in the character of a great chief,—your abilities in policy."

Landais, backed and instigated by Lee, and supported by the officers and seamen, refused to

yield one jot; and, holding the mandate of Franklin and the arrest of the King alike in defiance, he resolved to sail for America, captain of the Alliance. In this singular juncture, Jones posted back to Versailles, to solicit the assistance of government. Orders, he was told, had been previously sent to L'Orient to compel Landais and his crew to obedience, or, if he attempted to quit the port, to fire on him, and, if necessary, sink the ship. Confiding in this statement, Jones immediately returned to L'Orient, and found that the orders which were said to have preceded him, if they had ever been despatched, had at least never arrived,—a circumstance somewhat singular, though, in French diplomacy, by no means unaccountable. The local authorities, however, with whom Jones, in the course of his long stay in that port, had acquired considerable influence, were strongly disposed to support his authority and to enforce the orders of Franklin. Acting under the sanction of the American ministers, and supported by the local authorities at L'Orient, as well as by the promises and countenance of the government, had Jones at this time listened to

the dictates of passion or revenge, irreparable mischief might have been done, which his magnanimity and prudence averted.

Basely as he had been used, and irritated as he must have been, he would not be even the indirect cause of shedding American blood. It is thus he notices the part he had taken, and relates the consequences of the mutiny to Franklin:

" L'Orient, June 21, 1780.

" Sir,

" I was detained at Versailles forty hours from the time of my arrival, and was then informed by M. de Genet, that an express had been sent from Court with the necessary orders to the King's officers at L'Orient, respecting Captain Landais and the Alliance. I found myself here early yesterday morning, fifty-four hours after leaving Versailles. The Alliance had, the evening and night before, been warped and towed from the road of L'Orient to Port Louis; and no express from Court had arrived here. M. de Thevenard, the commandant, however, made every necessary preparation to stop the Alliance, as appears by

the enclosed document on the subject. He had even sent orders in the evening, before I was aware, to fire on the Alliance, and sink her to the bottom, if they attempted to approach and pass the barrier that had been made across the entrance of the port. Had I even remained silent *an hour* longer, the dreadful work would have been done. Your humanity will, I know, justify the part I acted in preventing a scene that would have rendered me miserable for the rest of my life. The Alliance has this morning been towed and warped through the rocks, and is now at anchor without, between Port Louis and Groix. In this situation I at noon sent out Lieutenant Dale with a letter to Captain Landais, whereof the within is a copy.

" Yesterday morning the within letter was brought me from Mr Lee, though I had never even hinted that his opinion or advice would be acceptable. He has, however, pulled off the mask, and, I am convinced, is not a little disappointed that his operations have produced no bloodshed between the subjects of France and America. Poor man !

" Yesterday every thing that persuasion or threatening could effect was attempted * * * * * * * * * * * *

" M. de Thevenard, on his part, sent the deputy of M. Sweighauser on board with your letters, *under his own cover*, to Captain Landais, and to the officers and men of the Alliance. The one was delivered to Captain Landais, the other to Lieutenant Digges. M. de Thevenard also sent on board an officer with the King's order to arrest Captain Landais, who refused to surrender himself. Mr Lee and his party pretend to justify their measures, because they say you did not put Captain Landais under arrest. According to them, you cannot displace him, however great his crimes! If the government does not interfere to crush this despicable party, France and America have much to fear from it. I verily believe them to be *English* at the bottom of their hearts."*

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* In a marginal note, affixed to this letter many years afterwards, Jones says, " In this opinion I was not singular, though perhaps I was mistaken."

To a lady in Paris, one of the friends he had lately made, he sent a much fuller account of this unpleasant affair, wishing, no doubt, to stand clear in the opinion of his powerful and fashionable patrons in the capital, and reasonably concluding that his exculpatory epistle might make the round of the circles. "I confess to you," he writes to Madame Tellison, "that I feel rather ashamed that such an event should have happened, although, God knows, it was not owing to any fault of mine. The true reason was, that M. Ray de Chaumont unjustly detained from the brave Americans, who had so bravely served in the squadron under my command, not only their wages, but also their prize-money; and he has not, even to this hour, given me the means of paying them their just claims. One or two envious persons here, taking advantage of these circumstances, persuaded these poor people that I had joined M. Ray de Chaumont to detain from them their just dues, and that it was, besides, my intention to carry them on new expeditions in Europe, and not to suffer them to return to their families in America during the war.

These insinuations were false and groundless; I had disapproved the conduct of M. Ray de Chaumont so much as neither to speak or write to him after my return to France. My sole business at Court was to obtain the free sale of the prizes, which I effected; and, far from being then bound on new expeditions in Europe, I was ordered by the board of admiralty in America to return forthwith to Congress, and had in consequence received the public despatches both from Dr Franklin and the Court. The Alliance, however, was hurried out of this port before the crew had time for reflection; yet, before they sailed from the road of Groix, many of them, seeing their error, refused to weigh anchor, and were carried to sea, confined hands and feet in irons. The government of France had taken measures to stop the ship; but I interposed, to prevent bloodshed between the subjects of the two allied nations. I am now again almost ready to sail in the Ariel, and I know, soon after my arrival in America, that Congress will do me impartial justice. I will then have the happiness to furnish you with the account I promised, and the cir-

cumstances will be supported by the fullest evidence. I dare promise that it will then appear that I have only been to blame for having returned here from Paris without having insisted absolutely on the previous payment of my men."

Franklin could at this time do no more to support the authority of the officer he had appointed. His anxious thoughts were in America, occupied with the distressed condition of Washington's troops. His first object, therefore, was to remedy as far as possible the mischief done to the public cause by Landais's mutiny, and the consequent delay in forwarding the military stores. Jones, however, appears to have felt his own crippled command at least as pressingly as the exigencies of the distant troops, and attempted to obtain a larger vessel than the Ariel.

The Serapis was now refitted. From the hour of her capture his pride and his affections had been fixed on this command, and he very plausibly enumerated to Franklin the advantages that might result to the public cause, were he enabled, with this vessel armed for war, the Ariel, and certain American frigates, to undertake some of

those daring expeditions he had so often proposed to government. This project failed, and he begged for the Terpsichore, another French ship, and engaged his personal friends to lend their influence to obtain it for him. Their solicitations did not succeed. France was now in the heat of the war,—the ministry were occupied with other subjects, and also evidently a little tired of the importunity of the Chevalier Jones,—and Franklin was disappointed and vexed at the delays which had taken place in forwarding those stores it had cost him so much to obtain, and of which the army stood in such pressing want. No sooner, however, had the Alliance left port, than, without wasting another thought on the affair, which no thought could amend, Franklin writes with the most business-like promptitude, "That affair is over, and the business is now to get the goods out as well as we can. I am perfectly bewildered with the different schemes that have been proposed to me for this purpose by Mr Williams, Mr Ross, yourself, and M. de Chaumont. Mr Williams was for purchasing ships. I told him I had not the money, but he still urges it. You

and Mr Ross proposed borrowing the Ariel. I joined in the application for that ship. We obtained her. She was to convey all that the Alliance could not take. Now you find her insufficient. An additional ship has already been asked, and could not be obtained. I think therefore it will be best that you take as much into the Ariel as you can, and depart with it. For the rest I must apply to the government to contrive some means of transporting it in their own ships. This is my present opinion; and when I have once got rid of this business, no consideration shall tempt me to meddle again with such matters, as I never understood them."

Before Jones could get off on this errand, so necessary to America, but not much calculated, as he felt, to increase his glory, and therefore, on his part, not very zealously managed, a change took place in the French ministry which revived his hopes. The Marquis de Castries succeeded Sartine at the head of the marine department, and the virtuous Maurepas became prime minister. To both of these distinguished persons Jones lost no time in recommending

himself by congratulatory letters; along with which were transmitted fresh copies of the maritime projects formerly sent to their predecessors in office. He also wished, before leaving Europe, to obtain from them, as the persons in actual power, testimonies in his favour, addressed to Congress, equivalent to those he had obtained from Sartine. His philanthropy, patriotism, and disinterested services, were once more duly set forth to the new ministers. He endeavoured to bring Mr Silas Dean and Dr Bancroft into his views, and again employed the influence of his friend the Duke of Rochefoucault. The ship so earnestly solicited was not obtained, nor does it appear that the American ministers concurred in the request.

Though on an after investigation Jones came clear out of this affair, it is obvious that, had he been half as anxious to forward the military stores as to serve the republic in a way more consonant to his own taste, the Ariel might long before this period have reached the shores of America.

Towards the end of June the Alliance had put to sea, and Jones still remained in port, when in

November accounts were received of the arrival of that ship at Boston. From his friend Dr Cooper of that town Dr Franklin received an account of the issue of Lee's factious proceedings, and of Landais's mutiny, which he instantly transmitted to the person most likely to sympathize with his feelings regarding that mortifying affair. The extract of Dr Cooper's letter was enclosed to the Commodore in a letter from Mr Temple Franklin, the grandson and secretary of Franklin, the minister himself being at this time confined to bed:

"Boston, September 8, 1780.

"The Alliance arrived here some weeks ago, with Dr Lee, who is still in town. This vessel appears to me to have left France in an unjustifiable manner, though I cannot yet obtain the particular circumstances. Landais did not hold his command through the voyage, which was either relinquished by him or wrested from him. All the passengers, as well as officers and sailors, are highly incensed against him, and Dr Lee as much as any one. A court of inquiry is now sitting upon this matter, in which the Doctor has

given a full evidence against the captain, which represents him as *insane*."

It was unfortunate that Dr Lee was so late in making this discovery.

The tardy and inauspicious voyage of the Ariel, so long delayed and so often obstructed, was at length commenced on the 8th of October. On the following night the ship encountered a tremendous gale, which was felt over almost all Europe. She rode out the storm for two days dismasted, and the waters around her covered with the wrecks of other vessels; and on the 13th put back, in a very disabled condition, to L'Orient. The arms, the most important part of the stores, were so much damaged, that it was necessary they should be unshipped and left; and before the vessel could be repaired and freshly provisioned, it was the middle of December. Franklin, though too reasonable to complain of a delay occasioned by the violence of the elements, grudged, nevertheless, the expense to which he had been repeatedly put for new outfits,—grudged, but passed the bills drawn on him; giv-

ing, however, his less considerate friend sundry precautionary hints.

" I suppose," he writes, " you thought it for the good of the service, as you say you did, to order that great quantity of medicine for the 74-gun ship, yet, after what I had written to you of my difficulties, it still seems to me that you ought not to have done it without informing me and obtaining my consent; and I have only to be thankful that you did not order all her stores, sails, and rigging, anchors, powder, &c. I think you must be sensible, on reflection, that with regard to me it was wrong, and that it ought not to be expected from me to be always ready and able to pay the demands that every officer in the service may saddle me with. This affair, however, is done with, and I shall say and think no more about it."

Jones gave such an explanation as was at least meant to satisfy the frugal statesman; to whom, on the 18th December, he once again addressed a farewell letter. He also took leave once more of his friends and patrons in the capital. One of

his valedictory epistles, addressed to Madame D'Ormoy, may be received as the best exposition that can be given of his feelings at the close of his short but brilliant career in Europe:—"I cannot leave France without expressing how much I feel myself honoured and obliged by the generous attention that you have shown to my reputation in your journal. I will ever have the most ardent desire to merit the spontaneous praise of beauty and her pen; and it is impossible to be more grateful than I am for the very polite attentions I lately received at Paris and Versailles. My particular thanks are due to you, madam, for the personal proofs I had received of your esteem and friendship, and for the happiness you procured me in the society of the charming countess, and other ladies and gentlemen of your circle. But I have a favour to ask of you, madam, which I hope you will grant me. You tell me in your letter, that the inkstand I had the honour to present you, as a small token of my esteem, shall be reserved for the purpose of writing what concerns me; now I wish you to see my idea in a more expanded light, and would

have you make use of that inkstand to instruct mankind, and support the dignity and rights of human nature."

"By the enclosed declaration of my officers," he writes to the same lady, "you will see, my dear madam, that I was in a ticklish situation in the moment while you were employed in writing to me on the 9th ultimo. It is impossible to be more sensible than I am of the obligation conferred on me by your attentions and kind remembrance, joined to that of the belle comtesse, your fair daughters, and the amiable ladies and gentlemen of your society. I have returned without laurels, and, what is worse, without having been able to render service to the glorious cause of liberty. I know not why Neptune was in such anger, unless he thought it an affront in me to appear on his ocean with so insignificant a force. It is certain, that till the night of the 8th I did not fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and of shipwreck. I can give you no just idea of the tremendous scene that nature then presented, which surpassed the reach even of poetic fancy and the pencil. I believe no ship was ever

before saved from an equal danger off the point of the Penmark rocks. I am extremely sorry that the young English lady you mention should have imbibed the national hatred against me. I have had proofs that many of the first and finest ladies of that nation are my friends. Indeed I cannot imagine why any fair lady should be my enemy, since, upon the large scale of universal philanthropy, I feel, acknowledge, and bend before the sovereign power of beauty. The English nation may hate me, but *I will force them to esteem me too.*"

Jones had other, or at least one other fair correspondent about this period, who, under the assumed name of Delia, makes some figure in his private history. The day of the Amintas and Delias was not then quite gone by; and, under this pastoral and poetic appellation, a lady chose to conceal herself, of whose real name and situation the multitudinous papers left by the commodore, though they include many of her letters, afford no satisfactory trace. In America, Delia has been discovered to be a young lady of the Court. In Scotland we are not so quick-sighted.

But as the claims of love and gallantry were ever postponed by the Commodore to those of professional duty and ambition, we shall in so far follow his example as to defer the introduction of Delia and her fair contemporaries, till a a more convenient season.

Besides the enthusiastic epistles of Delia, Jones carried out the following letter, already noticed as written by De Sartine on the order of the King of France, and approved by his Most Christian Majesty in council. This of itself would have ensured him that honourable reception in the country of his adoption, to which his zeal and services gave him yet stronger claims.

Translation of the Letter addressed to Mr Hantenydon, President of the Congress of the United States, by M. de Sartine, Minister of the French Marine.

" Versailles, 20th May, 1780.

" Commodore Paul Jones, after having given to all Europe, and, above all, to the enemies of France and of the United States, high proofs of his valour and of his talents, is about to return to

America, to give an account to Congress of the success of his military operations. I am aware, Sir, that the reputation he has so justly acquired will go before him, and that the history of his campaigns will be sufficient to prove to his countrymen, that his abilities are equal to his courage; but the King has thought it right to join to the public voice his approbation and his bounty. He has charged me expressly to make known to you how much he is satisfied with the services of the Commodore, persuaded that Congress will do him like justice. His Majesty gives him a pledge of his esteem in bestowing on him the gift of a sword, which could not be placed in better hands, and now offers to Congress to decorate this brave officer with the cross of the order of Military Merit. His Majesty thinks that these peculiar distinctions, associating together in the same honours the subject of two countries united by similar interests, may be regarded as another tie between them, and excite them to emulation in the common cause. If, after having approved the conduct of the Commodore, it is judged fit to intrust him with any new expedition to Europe,

his Majesty will see him return with pleasure; and he presumes Congress will refuse nothing that may be deemed necessary to promote the success of his enterprises. My personal esteem for the Commodore induces me to recommend him in a particular manner to you, Sir; and I venture to hope that, in the reception which he may receive from Congress, he will perceive the fruits of the sentiments with which he has inspired me.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"DE SARTINE."

CHAPTER VIII.

On the 18th February, 1781, Commodore Jones reached Philadelphia. The principal adventure of this voyage is thus related by himself in the memorial to the King of France, and in the third person:—"After a variety of rencounters, he, in the latitude 26° north, and longitude of Barbadoes, met with a remarkably fast-sailing frigate belonging to the enemy's navy. Captain Jones endeavoured to avoid speaking with that ship, and as the night approached, he hoped to succeed, notwithstanding her superior sailing. He was, however, mistaken, for next morning the ships were at less distance asunder than they had been the evening before, although during the night the officers of the watch had always informed Captain Jones the sail continued out of sight. An action now became unavoidable, and the Ariel was prepared for it. Every thing

was thrown overboard that interfered with the defence and safety of the ship. Captain Jones took particular care, by the management of sails and helm, to prevent the enemy from discovering the force of the Ariel, and worked her so well as not to discover any warlike appearance or preparation. In the afternoon the Ariel fired now and then a light stern-chaser at the enemy from the quarter-deck, and continued to crowd sail as if very much alarmed. This had the desired effect, and the enemy pursued with the greater eagerness. Captain Jones did not suffer the enemy to come close up till the approach of night, when, having well examined his force, he shortened sail, to meet his approach. When the two ships came within hail of each other they both hoisted English colours. The person whose duty it was to hoist the pendant on board the Ariel had not taken care to make the other end of the halliards fast, to haul it down again to change the colours. This prevented Captain Jones from an advantageous manœuvre he had intended, and obliged him to let the enemy range up along the lee-side of the Ariel, where he saw a battery

lighted for action. A conversation now took place between the two ships, which lasted near an hour; by which Captain Jones learned the situation of the enemy's affairs in America. The captain of the enemy's ship said his name was John Pindar. His ship had been constructed by the famous Mr Peck of Boston, built at Newbury Port, owned by Mr Tracey of that place, commanded by Captain Hopkins, the son of the late Commodore Hopkins, and had been taken and fitted out at New York, and named the Triumph, by Admiral Rodney. Captain Jones told him he must put out his boat, and come on board and show his commission, to prove whether or not he really did belong to the British navy. To this he made some excuses, because Captain Jones had not told him who he was; and his boat, he said, was very leaky. Captain Jones told him to consider the danger of refusing. Captain Pindar said he would answer for twenty guns, and that himself and every one of his people had shown themselves Englishmen. Captain Jones said he would allow him five minutes only to make his reflection. That time being elapsed,

Captain Jones backed a little on the weather-quarter of the enemy, ran close under her stern, hoisted American colours, and being within short pistol-shot on the lee-beam of the enemy, began to engage. It was past seven o'clock, and as no equal force ever exceeded the vigorous and regular fire of the Ariel's battery and tops, the action while it lasted made a glorious appearance. The enemy made a feeble resistance for about ten minutes. He then struck his colours. The enemy then begged for quarter, and said half his men were killed. The Ariel's fire ceased; and the crew, as usual after a victory, gave cries of joy, to " show themselves Englishmen." The enemy filled their sails, and got on the Ariel's weather-bow before the cries of joy had ended on board the Ariel. Captain Jones, suspecting the base design of the enemy, immediately set every sail he could to prevent her escape; but the enemy had so much advantage in sailing, that the Ariel could not keep up, and they soon got out of gun-shot. The English Captain may properly be called a knave, because, after he surrendered his ship, begged for, and obtained quar-

ter, he basely ran away, contrary to the laws of naval war and the practice of civilized nations. A conspiracy was discovered among the English part of the Ariel's crew immediately after sailing from France. During the voyage every officer, and even the passengers, had been constantly armed, and kept a regular watch, besides a constant guard with fixed bayonets. After the action with the Triumph the plot was so far discovered, that Captain Jones confined twenty of the ringleaders in irons till his arrival. Captain Jones arrived at Philadelphia on the 18th February, 1781, having been absent from America three years, three months, and eighteen days."

The clamour excited in America by the detention of the army stores, and the real evils which had by this means been occasioned to the public service, compelled Congress to institute an immediate inquiry into the cause of the delay. This in common fairness was the more necessary, as Landais, who was arrested in coming to America with the Alliance, had now been tried, and for ever dismissed the service.

A Board of Admiralty had been for some time

organized, and on this Board devolved the duty of inquiry, while Congress almost simultaneously took up the affair. A string of questions, forty-seven in number, were proposed by the Board to Jones, to which he was required to give answers in writing. He lost no time in complying with this order; nor, it is to be presumed, in securing such powerful and useful friends as his brilliant reputation and the testimonials he brought from Europe had already predisposed in his favour. Admired and caressed at the Court of Versailles, and more dreaded by the vulgar of the English nation than was very creditable either to their judgment or courage, Paul Jones could not, at this period of agitation and imbittered hostility, fail to find friends in America, had his public services been even less valuable and important than they really were.

His answers to the official interrogatories were on all points ample, and, it appears, satisfactory; and the subsequent report of the Board, so far from being condemnatory, was highly flattering. Another report of the same Board will show the exact footing on which he now stood.

" Admiralty Office, June 16th, 1781.

" The Board, to whom was referred the letters and other papers relative to the conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq., beg leave to report, that they have carefully perused said letters and papers, wherein they find favourable mention is made of his abilities as an officer by the Duke de Vauguyon, M. de Sartine, and Dr Franklin; and this is also corroborated by that valour and intrepidity with which he engaged his Britannic Majesty's ship, the Serapis, of forty-four cannon, twelve and eighteen pounders, who, after a severe contest for several hours, surrendered to his superior valour, thereby acquiring honour to himself and dignity to the American flag.

" The Board therefore humbly conceive that an honourable testimony should be given to Captain Paul Jones, commander of the Bon Homme Richard, his officers and crew, for their many singular services in annoying the enemy on the British coasts, and particularly for their spirited behaviour in an engagement with his Britannic Majesty's ship of war, the Serapis, on the 23d of

September, 1779, and obliging her to surrender to the American flag."

The following is a farther extract from another of these reports:—

"With regard to Captain Jones, the Board beg leave to report, that the views of the Marine Committee in sending Captain Jones, and his views in going in the Ranger to France, were, that he might take the command of the Indian, a ship that was building at Amsterdam on a new construction, under a contract made by the Commissioners of these States at Paris, and with her, in concert with the Ranger, annoy the coasts and trade of Great Britain. When he arrived at Nantes, the Commissioners sent for him to Paris. After remaining there some time, he was informed that they had assigned their property in the ship Indian to the King of France. Captain Jones returned to Nantes, plans and undertakes a secret expedition in the Ranger," &c. &c. The report goes on to enumerate the various services of Captain Jones, and then proceeds, "ever since Captain Jones first became an officer in the

navy of those States, he hath shown an unremitted attention in planning and executing enterprises calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious cause. That in Europe, although in his expedition through the Irish Channel in the Ranger he did not fully accomplish his purpose, yet he made the enemy feel that it is in the power of a small squadron, under a brave and enterprising commander, to retaliate the conflagrations of our defenceless towns. That returning from Europe, he brought with him the esteem of the greatest and best friends of America; and hath received from the illustrious monarch of France that reward of warlike virtue which his subjects receive by a long series of faithful services or uncommon merit.

"The Board are of opinion that the conduct of Paul Jones merits particular attention, and some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States in Congress assembled."

Had the reports been drawn up by himself, or his most zealous friends, they could not have been more gratifying. He also received the solemn

thanks of Congress, recorded in the following document:—

"BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

"Saturday, April 14, 1781.

"On the report of a committee consisting of Mr Varnun, Mr Houston, and Mr Mathews, to which was referred a motion of Mr Varnun:

"The United States, in Congress assembled, having taken into consideration the report of the Board of Admiralty of the 28th March last, respecting the conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq., captain in the navy, do,

"*Resolve*, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be given to Captain John Paul Jones, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity with which he hath supported the honour of the American flag, for his bold and successful enterprises to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States who had fallen under the power of the enemy, and in general for the good conduct and eminent services by which he

has added a lustre to his character and to the American arms.

"That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be also given to the officers and men who have faithfully served under him from time to time, for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they have manifested therein."

The following letter from Washington, of which the original is preserved among his papers, must have completed the satisfaction Paul Jones experienced in his honourable public acquittal :—

"Head Quarters, New Windsor,
15th May, 1781.

"SIR,

"My partial acquaintance with either our naval or commercial affairs makes it altogether impossible for me to account for the unfortunate delay of those articles of military stores and clothing which have been so long provided in France.

"Had I had any particular reasons to have suspected you of being accessary to that de-

lay, which I assure you has not been the case, my suspicions would have been removed by the very full and satisfactory answers which you have, to the best of my knowledge, made to the questions proposed to you by the Board of Admiralty, and upon which that Board have, in their report to Congress, testified the high sense which they entertain of your merits and services.

" Whether our naval affairs have in general been well or ill conducted would be presumptuous in me to determine. Instances of bravery and good conduct in several of our officers have not, however, been wanting. Delicacy forbids me to mention *that particular one* which has attracted the admiration of all the world, and which has influenced the most illustrious Monarch to confer a mark of his favour which can only be obtained by a long and honourable service, or by the performance of some brilliant action.

" That you may long enjoy the reputation you have so justly acquired is the sincere wish of,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Geo. Washington."

In the investigation respecting the delay of the stores, Franklin had been implicated as well as Jones. He now stood equally clear; and, however reluctant Jones might have been, after Landais had usurped his command, and run away with his ship, to put to sea with a single vessel, and that of inferior force, the paramount and unceasing anxiety of Franklin to forward the stores, does not by any means admit a doubt. In the awkward affair of Landais it was accordingly decided that Franklin had done nothing for which he had not ample discretionary powers; and as an appropriate mark of the entire confidence of Congress, he was appointed by the Marine Committee to the sole management of maritime affairs in Europe. The patron of Landais, the strenuous supporter of constitutional rights, Mr Arthur Lee, now thought proper to abandon his former opinions, together with his unlucky *protegé*, and even to appear among the active friends of Commodore Jones.

On coming thus clearly and honourably out of this investigation, Jones, besides the vote of thanks so gratifying to his feelings, obtained the

reward which of all others he valued the highest, a farther opportunity of extending his fame by active service in the cause of America. By an unanimous ballot, (for in this manner it seems officers were chosen,) he was appointed to the command of the America, a fine vessel, still on the stocks. Almost immediately he went to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, to superintend the building and equipment of this ship.

This seems to have been one of the few intervals of leisure and tranquillity which his chequered life afforded. It was sweetened by the hope of future services to be performed, and future glories to be acquired. He continued for some months in the little town of Portsmouth, and, besides maintaining an extensive correspondence in France and America, found time to mature and arrange his ideas on the subject of the American navy.

We have not sufficient nautical skill to decide how far the belief of Jones in the relative superiority of the French to the English system of naval tactics was even theoretically correct; it is enough, that almost every succeeding naval

engagement has practically demonstrated the futility of his speculations. The ships of England scarcely ever afterwards met those of her rival save to beat them, till the flag of France was literally swept from the seas. But though the opinions of Jones are thus, in all probability, abstractly of no great value as those of a great naval tactician, they are of some consequence, as they discover the state of his own mind, his strong prepossession for whatever was French, and his jealousy of English naval supremacy. It is but fair to let him state his reasons for his singular belief.

"The beginning of our navy," he says, "as navies now rank, was so singularly small, that I am of opinion it has no precedent in history. Was it a proof of madness in the first corps of sea-officers to have, at so critical a period, launched out on the ocean with only two armed merchant ships, two armed brigantines, and one armed sloop, to make war against such a power as Great Britain? To be diffident is not always a proof of ignorance. I had sailed before this revolution in armed ships and frigates, yet, when I came to try my skill, I am not ashamed to own I did not find myself perfect in the duties of a first lieuten-

ant. If midnight study, and the instruction of the greatest and most learned sea-officers, can have given me advantages, I am not without them. I confess, however, I have yet to learn; it is the work of many years' study and experience to acquire the high degree of science necessary for a great sea-officer. Cruising after merchant ships, the service in which our frigates have generally been employed, affords, I may say, no part of the knowledge necessary for conducting fleets and their operations. There is now, perhaps, as much difference between a battle between two ships, and an engagement between two fleets, as there is between a duel and a ranged battle between two armies. The English, who boast so much of their navy, never fought a ranged battle on the ocean before the war that is now ended. The battle off Ushant was, on their part, like their former ones, irregular; and Admiral Keppell could only justify himself by the example of Hawke in our remembrance, and of Russel in the last century. From that moment the English were forced to study and to imitate the French in their evolutions. They never gained any advantage when they had to do with

equal force, and the unfortunate defeat of Count de Grasse was owing more to the unfavourable circumstances of the wind coming ahead four points at the beginning of the battle, which put his fleet into the order of *echiquier* when it was too late to tack, and of calm and currents afterwards, which brought on an entire disorder, than to the admiralship, or even the vast superiority of Rodney, who had forty sail of the line against thirty, and five three-deckers against one. By the account of some of the French officers, Rodney might as well have been asleep, not having made a second signal during the battle, so that every captain did as he pleased.

" The English are very deficient in signals as well as in naval tactic. This I know, having in my possession their present fighting and sailing instructions, which comprehend all their signals and evolutions. Lord Howe has, indeed, made some improvements by borrowing from the French. But Kempenfelt, who seems to have been a more promising officer, had made a still greater improvement by the same means. It was said of Kempenfelt, when he was drowned in the Royal George, England has lost her Du Pavillion. That

great man, the Chevalier du Pavillion, commanded the Triumphant, and was killed in the last battle of Count de Grasse. France lost in him one of her greatest naval tacticians, and a man who had, besides, the honour (in 1773) to invent the new system of naval signals, by which sixteen hundred orders, questions, answers, and informations, can, without confusion or misconstruction, and with the greatest celerity, be communicated through a great fleet. It was his fixed opinion that a smaller number of signals would be insufficient. A captain of the line at this day must be a tactician. A captain of a cruising frigate may make shift without ever having heard of naval tactics. Until I arrived in France, and became acquainted with that great tactician Count D'Orvilliers, and his judicious assistant the Chevalier du Pavillion, who, each of them, honoured me with instructions respecting the science of governing the operations, &c. of a fleet, I confess I was not sensible how ignorant I had been before that time of naval tactics."*

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* Jones forgets once writing Franklin that this illustrious commander chose rather to permit several English

However defective the general views of the Commodore might be as a great tactician, his ideas of the proper formation and internal policy and regulation of a navy for the young republic of America discover a comprehensive mind, and a liberal and generous spirit. On these points he had to contend with no lurking prepossessions. His very prejudices were here all on the right side.

" From the observations I have made," he says, " and what I have read, it is my opinion, that in a navy there ought to be at least as many grades below a captain of the line as there are below a colonel of a regiment. Even the navy of France is deficient in subaltern grades, and has paid dearly for that error in its constitution, joined to another of equal magnitude, which authorises ensigns of the navy to take charge of watch on board ships of the line. One instance may be sufficient to show this. The Zélé, in the night between the 11th and 12th of April, 1782,

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frigates to escape him, than violate professional etiquette by breaking his line! This was tactics with a vengeance!

ran on board the Ville de Paris, which accident was the principal cause of the unfortunate battle that ensued next day between Count de Grasse and Admiral Rodney. That accident in all probability would not have happened had the deck of the Zélé been at the time commanded by a steady experienced lieutenant of the line instead of a young ensign. The charge of the deck of a ship of the line should, in my judgment, never be intrusted to an officer under twenty-five years of age. At that time of life he may be supposed to have served nine or ten years,—a term not more than sufficient to have furnished him with the necessary knowledge for so great a charge. It is easy to conceive that the minds of officers must become uneasy, when they are continued too long in any one grade, which must happen (if regard be paid to the good of the service) where there are no more subaltern grades than midshipman and lieutenant. Would it not be wiser to raise young men by smaller steps, and to increase the number?

"I have many things to offer respecting the formation of our navy. We are a young people,

and need not be ashamed to ask advice from nations older and more experienced in marine affairs than ourselves. This, I conceive, might be done in a manner that would be received as a compliment by several, or perhaps all the marine powers of Europe, and at the same time would enable us to collect such helps as would be of vast use when we come to form a constitution for the creation and government of our marine, the establishment and police of our dock-yards, academies, hospitals, &c. &c., and the general police of our seamen throughout the continent. These considerations induced me, on my return from the fleet of his excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to propose to you to lay my ideas on the subject before Congress, and to propose sending a proper person to Europe in a handsome frigate, to display our flag in the ports of the different marine powers, to offer them the free use of our ports, and propose to them commercial advantages, &c., and then to ask permission to visit their marine arsenals, to be informed how they are furnished both with men, provision, materials, and warlike stores,—by what police and officers they

are governed, how and from what resources the officers and men are paid, &c.—the line of conduct drawn between the officers of the fleet and the officers of the ports, &c.—also the armament and equipment of the different ships of war, with their dimensions, the number and qualities of their officers and men, by what police they are governed in port and at sea, how and from what resources they are fed, clothed, and paid, &c., and the general police of their seamen, and academies, hospitals, &c. &c. If you still object to my project on account of the expense of sending a frigate to Europe, and keeping her there till the business can be effected, I think it may be done, though perhaps not with the same dignity, without a frigate. My plan for forming a proper corps of sea-officers is, by teaching them the naval tactics in a fleet of evolution. To lessen the expense as much as possible, I would compose that fleet of frigates instead of ships of the line; on board of each I would have a little academy, where the officers should be taught the principles of mathematics and mechanics, when off duty. When in port, the young

officers should be obliged to attend the academies established at each dock-yard, where they should be taught the principles of every art and science that is necessary to form the character of a great sea-officer. And every commission officer of the navy should have free access, and be entitled to receive instruction gratis at those academies. All this would be attended with no very great expense, and the public advantage resulting from it would be immense. I am sensible it cannot be immediately adopted, and that we must first look about for ways and means; but the sooner it is adopted the better. We cannot, like the ancients, build a fleet in a month, and we ought to take example from what has lately befallen Holland. In time of peace it is necessary to prepare, and be always prepared, for war by sea. I have had the honour to be presented with copies of the signals, tactics, and police, that have been adopted under the different admirals of France and Spain during the war, and have in my last campaign seen them put in practice. While I was at Brest, as well as while I was inspecting the building of the America, as I

had furnished myself with good authors, I applied much of my leisure time to the study of naval architecture, and other matters that relate to the establishment and police of dock-yards, &c. I, however, feel myself bound to say again, I have yet much need to be instructed."

The ship America, by his exertions, was now nearly completed, and Jones had once more the immediate prospect of active service; but fortune had yet another reverse in store for him; or more properly, at this time commenced that series of disappointments and chagrins which, whether in Europe or America, continued, with brief intermissions, to pursue him through his subsequent life, till they consigned him to a premature grave. It appears to have been the fate of Jones at different epochs of his life, by the energies and activity of his character, and the impetuosity of his temper, to have momentarily strained the instruments of his advancement so far beyond the proper pitch, that they violently recoiled, as if by the counteracting force caused by their over-tension, on the instant that his vigorous hand was removed.

The *Magnifique*, a seventy-four gun ship, belonging to France, had, by accident or mismanagement, been lost in the harbour of Boston. To make up this loss, and keep their powerful ally in good humour, Congress did not scruple to strip Jones of the command so flatteringly bestowed, and this without giving him any equivalent appointment, or any future pledge. This was the second time he had been disappointed in a similar way: the America shared the fate of the *Indien;* it was presented by Congress to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, for the service of his Most Christian Majesty. Fifteen months after his appointment Jones received the following letter from the Minister of Marine:—

"Marine Office, 4th Sept. 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

"The enclosed resolution will show you the destination of the ship *America*. Nothing could be more pleasing to me than this disposition, excepting so far as you are affected by it. I know you so well as to be convinced that it must give you great pain, and I sincerely sympathize with

you. But although you will undergo much concern at being deprived of this opportunity to reap laurels on your favourite field, yet your regard for France will in some measure alleviate it; and to this your good sense will naturally add the delays which must have happened in fitting the ship for sea. I must entreat you to continue your inspection until she is launched, and to urge forward the business. When that is done, if you will come hither I will explain to you the reasons which led to this measure, and my views of employing you in the service of your country. You will on your route have an opportunity of conferring with the General on the blow you mentioned to me in one of your letters." * * * * *

Whatever might have been the feelings of Jones on this abrupt and painful communication, they were stifled by prudence and patriotism; and the cheerfulness and magnanimity with which he submitted to this stroke elicited the subjoined letter from Morris :—

"Marine Office, 4th October, 1782.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 22d of last month. The sentiments contained in it will always reflect the highest honour upon your character. They have made so strong an impression upon my mind, that I immediately transmitted an extract of your letter to Congress. I doubt not but they will view it in the same manner that I have done."

Jones, on the request of the Minister, continued to superintend the equipment of the ship; but as honourable employment, whether in the sea or land service, was ever his favourite object, he now solicited the leave of Congress to go on board the French fleet, then cruising in the American seas, for improvement in his profession. This was given in the most gracious manner, in the subjoined resolution:—

BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

"Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1782.

"*Resolved*, That the agent of marine be in-

formed that Congress, having a high sense of the merit and services of Captain John Paul Jones, and being disposed to favour the zeal manifested by him to acquire improvement in the line of his profession, do grant the permission which he requests, and that the said agent be instructed to recommend him accordingly to the countenance of his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil."

The languor of inactivity, and the disappointment which followed, were also somewhat soothed by the receipt, from time to time, of letters, of which the following from La Fayette and Adams may furnish a sample :—

" Alliance, off Boston, 22d Dec. 1781.

" I have been honoured with your polite favour, my dear Paul Jones ; but before it reached me I already was on board the Alliance, and every minute expecting to put to sea. It would have afforded me great satisfaction to pay my respects to the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the State in which you are for the present. As to the pleasure to take you by the hand, my

dear Paul Jones, you know my affectionate sentiments, and my very great regard for you, so that I need not add any thing on that subject.

"Accept my best thanks for the kind expressions in your letter. His Lordship's downfall* is a great event, and the greater, as it was equally and amicably shared by the two allied nations. Your coming to the army I had the honour to command would have been considered as a very flattering compliment to me who love you and know your worth. I am impatient to hear you are ready to sail, and I am of opinion we ought to unite under you every continental ship we can muster, with such a body of well-appointed marines as might cut a good figure ashore; and then give you plenty of provision, and *carte blanche*.

"I am sorry I cannot see you. I also had many things to tell you; write me by good opportunities, but not often in ciphers, unless the matter is very important," &c. &c.

"La Fayette."

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* Lord Cornwallis.

" Hague, 12th August, 1782.

" Dear Sir,

" I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your favour of the 10th December last, * * * * * * The command of the *America* could not have been more judiciously bestowed; and it is with impatience I wish her at sea, where she will do honour to her name. Nothing gives me so much surprise, or so much regret, as the inattention of my countrymen to their navy. It is to us a bulwark as essential as it is to Great Britain. It is less costly than armies, and more easily removed from one of the United States to the other. * * *

" Every day shows that the Batavians have not wholly lost their ancient character. They are always timid and slow in adopting their political systems; but always firm and able in support of them; and always brave and active in war. They have hitherto been restrained by their chiefs; but if the war continue, they will show that they are possessed of the spirit of liberty, and that they have lost none of their great qualities.

" Rodney's victory has intoxicated Britain

again to such a degree, that I think there will be no peace for some time. Indeed, if I could see a prospect of having a half-dozen line-of-battle ships under the American flag, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, engaged with an equal British force, I apprehend the event would be so glorious for the United States, and lay so sure a foundation for their prosperity, that it would be a rich compensation for a continuance of the war. However, it does not depend upon us to finish it. There is but one way, and that is *Burgoynizing Carlton* in New York * *

* * * * * * *

"JOHN ADAMS."

Jones went on board the French fleet according to the permission granted by Congress; but peace put a sudden end to his nautical studies in this school; and a few complimentary letters are the sole trophies that remain of his bloodless campaign. These testimonies of his talents and conduct were addressed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to Mr Morris, the Minister of the American Marine, and to the Chevalier de

la Luzerne, the French Ambassador to the United States.

That impatience of inactivity, which appears to have been an inherent quality in the mind of Jones, and considerations of private interest and friendship, now induced him to solicit an appointment in Europe, as agent for prize-money, of which large sums were still due to himself, and to his officers and men, both in France and Denmark. Their claims had indeed never been settled, and the arrangement was no easy matter. Pursuant to a resolution of Congress, he was, on the 1st Nov. 1783, formally appointed "agent for all prizes taken in Europe under his own command." On his arrival in Paris, his mission was sanctioned by Franklin, still minister plenipotentiary at Versailles, and he proceeded in the affair, which had baffled other negotiators, with his characteristic vigour and perseverance. We are well warranted in presuming that Jones would infinitely rather have re-visited Europe at this time, commander of that gallant experimental frigate which he had so earnestly recommended Congress to equip, than in the comparatively

tame character he now held. His embassy, for such he loved to consider it, proved tedious, and even vexatious. His old antagonist, M. de Chaumont, had become insolvent; the French finances were already in great disorder, and disinclination existed in every department to an adjustment or liquidation of the claims of the captors. The opposition of Chaumont was peculiarly irritating to Jones, who lost no opportunity of reviling and exposing him in his frequent correspondence with the Marshal de Castries.

While this affair was in progress, Jones renewed and extended his former social connexions in Paris; and for three years, at this time, supported a considerable figure in the fashionable society of that capital, both for the gratification of his personal feelings and the advancement of his mission. In this interval he also formed several projects of commercial speculations, on the scale suited to the enterprising character of his mind, and in concert with different individuals of capital and influence. One of these projects, of which a sketch still remains among his papers,

was to establish a fur-trade between the north-west coast of America and China, or Japan. The person fixed on to act as supercargo in this adventurous expedition was the celebrated John Ledyard, with whom it probably originated. It went so far, that Jones was on the point of purchasing a ship; but failed, partly from the jealousy of the Spanish government, and partly from private causes. The Algerines, and the sufferings of their American captives, was another object of his anxious attention, and one of which he never lost sight for the short remainder of his life, though he was not able to effect much in the behalf of this unfortunate portion of his countrymen.

Another of Jones' amusements at this time was having his bust taken, which was afterwards somewhat ostentatiously presented to a favoured few in America. He also handed round the journal of his short and brilliant campaign, and received in return the usual requital of letters of compliment, which, when proceeding from such characters as Malsherbes and D'Estaing, any man

may be pardoned for overvaluing. A compliment was never thrown away on the Commodore, and seldom forgotten.

Tedious as the affair of the prize-money proved, an equitable and even liberal adjustment was obtained in France long before any prospect of a settlement of the claims on Denmark, which power had shuffled for eight years with considerable dexterity, and continued to do so still.

With his mission thus far accomplished, Jones, in the summer of 1787, returned to America, giving the following reasons for not at this time proceeding to Copenhagen :—

To His Excellency John Jay, Esq. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

" New York, July 8th, 1787.

" Sir,

" The application I made for a compensation for our prizes through the Danish minister in London not having succeeded, it was determined between Mr Jefferson and myself, that the proper method to obtain satisfaction was for me to

go in person to the court of Copenhagen. It was necessary for me to see the Baron de Blome before I could leave France on that business, and he being absent on a tour in Switzerland, did not return to Paris till the beginning of last winter. I left Paris in the spring, and went as far as Brussels on my way to Copenhagen, when an unforeseen circumstance in my private affairs rendered it indispensable for me to turn about and cross the ocean. My private business here being already finished, I shall in a few days re-embark for Europe, in order to proceed to the court of Denmark. It is my intention to go by the way of Paris, in order to obtain a letter to the French minister at Copenhagen, from the Count de Montmorin, as the one I obtained is from the Count de Vergennes. It would be highly flattering to me if I could carry a letter with me from Congress to his Most Christian Majesty, thanking him for the squadron he did us the honour to support under our flag. And on this occasion, Sir, permit me, with becoming diffidence, to recall the attention of my Sovereign to the letter of recommendation I brought with

me from the court of France, dated 30th May, 1780. It would be pleasing to me if that letter should be found to merit a place on the journals of Congress. Permit me also to entreat that Congress will be pleased to read the letter I received from the minister of marine, when his Majesty deigned to bestow on me a golden-hilted sword, emblematical of the happy alliance,—an honour which his Majesty never conferred on any other foreign officer. I owed the high favour I enjoyed at the court of France in a great degree to the favourable testimony of my conduct which had been communicated by his Majesty's ambassador, under whose eye I acted in the most critical situation in the Texel, as well as to the public opinion of Europe. And the letter with which I was honoured by the prime minister of France, when I was about to return to America, is a clear proof that we might have drawn still greater advantages from the generous disposition of our ally, if our marine had not been lost whilst I was, under perplexing circumstances, detained in Europe, after I had given the Count de Maurepas my plan for forming a combined squadron

of ten or twelve sail of frigates, supported by the America, with a detachment of French troops on board; the whole at the expense of his Majesty.

" It is certain that I am much flattered by receiving a gold sword from the most illustrious monarch now living; but I had refused to accept his commission on two occasions before that time, when some firmness was necessary to resist the temptation. He was not my sovereign; I served the cause of freedom; and honours from my sovereign would be more pleasing. Since the year 1775, when I displayed the American flag for the first time with my own hands, I have been constantly devoted to the interests of America. Foreigners have, perhaps, given me too much credit, and this may have raised my ideas of my services above their real value; but my zeal can never be over-rated.

" I should act inconsistently if I omitted to mention the dreadful situation of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers. Their almost hopeless fate is a deep reflection on our national character in Europe. I beg leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf,

and to propose that some expedient may be adopted for their redemption. A fund might be raised for that purpose by a duty of a shilling per month from seamen's wages throughout the continent, and I am persuaded that no difficulty would be made to that requisition.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, &c. &c.

"PAUL JONES."

The manner in which Jones had divided the quotas, and the magnitude of his private claims for personal expenses while engaged in this service, did not satisfy the Board of Treasury of the United States, and their report highly offended him. He, however, made out what, allowing for a considerable alloy of self-eulogium, inseparable from all his vindicatory writings, may be called a triumphant case. "The settlement," he says, "that I made with the court of France had first Dr Franklin's and afterwards Mr Jefferson's approbation, in every stage and article of the business; and I presume it will be found, at least so far as depended on me, to merit that

of the United States. The Board of Treasury have been pleased in their report to treat me as a mere agent, though employed in that delicate national concern. In France I was received and treated by the King and his ministers as a general officer and a special minister from Congress. The credit with which I am honoured as an officer, in the opinion of Europe, and the personal intimacy I have with many great characters at Paris, with my exclusive knowledge of all circumstances relative to the business, ensured me a success which no other man could have obtained. My situation subjected me to considerable expense. I went to Court much oftener, and mixed with the great much more frequently, than our minister plenipotentiary, yet the gentlemen in that situation consider their salary of two thousand a-year as scarcely adequate to their expenses." But the reader is already so familiar with the services of the Commodore to the public cause of America, that we spare them the repetition which follows, and pass to the issue of this altercation, which was a resolution of Congress, passed a few days afterwards, declaring his distri-

bution of the quotas valid, and allowing him the sum claimed as expended by him on this service. This was 47,972 livres, instead of the usual commission on sums recovered, which would not nearly have defrayed his expenses.

To complete his triumph over the Board of Treasury, Congress, in a few days afterwards, unanimously resolved "that a gold medal should be struck, and presented to Chevalier J. Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valour and brilliant services of that officer while in command of a squadron of French and American ships, under the flag and commission of the States of America." It was farther resolved that a letter should be written to his Most Christian Majesty; and accordingly, furnished with the following letter, Jones left the shores of America, which he was destined never again to revisit:—

"*To His Most Christian Majesty, Louis, King of France and Navarre.*

"GREAT AND BELOVED FRIEND!

"We, the United States in Congress assembled, in consideration of the distinguished marks

of approbation with which your Majesty has been pleased to honour the Chevalier John Paul Jones, as well as from a sense of his merit, have unanimously directed a medal of gold to be struck and presented to him, in commemoration of his valour and brilliant services while commanding a squadron of French and American ships, under our flag and commission, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war.

" As it is his earnest desire to acquire knowledge in his profession, we cannot forbear requesting of your Majesty to permit him to embark in your fleets of evolution, where only it will be probably in his power to acquire that degree of knowledge which may hereafter render him most extensively useful.

" Permit us to repeat to your Majesty, our sincere assurances, that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and people. We pray God to keep you, our great and beloved friend, under his holy protection.

"Done at the city of New York, the 16th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of our Sovereignty and Independence the 12th."

It is not probable, though just possible, that, before this last departure for Europe, Jones was aware, that, in conversation with M. de Simolin, the Russian ambassador at Paris, Mr Jefferson had proposed him to serve Russia in the Black Sea. This conversation arose in consequence of the disasters which had befallen her Imperial Majesty's fleet in a tempest in the month of September of that year. During the late negotiations about the prize-money, Jones had come in close contact with Mr Jefferson, who immediately succeeded to Franklin as ambassador, and had gained his friendship and esteem. Though he might not be aware thus early of this private treaty concerning him, there is no room to doubt that, with all the indifference and coquettish reluctance he afterwards thought fit to affect, he was from the first moment dazzled and infatuated by the prospects which thus

opened so unexpectedly upon him in a new career of glory and distinction. He landed at Dover from stress of weather, and, after spending a few days in London, and making certain arrangements with the American ambassador there, respecting the Danish claims, went to Paris, and was there at least informed by Mr Jefferson of the high destinies which probably awaited him in Russia. He accordingly deferred delivering the letter which he bore from Congress to his Most Christian Majesty, till a more convenient season, and set out for Copenhagen in mid-winter, ostensibly only to solicit indemnification for the prizes so long before delivered up to the English minister, but in reality to draw a step nearer to St Petersburgh. There is no evidence that the court of Russia had ever thought of John Paul Jones as a naval commander till M. de Simolin had written home, "that with the chief command of the fleet, and *carte blanche*, he would undertake that in a year Paul Jones would make Constantinople tremble."

Jones was furnished with letters to the French ambassador at Copenhagen, and other influen-

tial persons, and gives this account of his reception in that capital :—

" I have been so much indisposed since my arrival here the 4th, from the fatigue and excessive cold I suffered on the road, that I have been obliged to confine myself almost constantly to my chamber. I have kept my bed for several days; but I now feel myself better, and hope the danger is over. On my arrival I paid my respects to the minister of France. He received me with great kindness; we went, five days ago, to the minister of foreign affairs. I was much flattered with my reception, and our conversation was long and very particular respecting America and the new constitution, of which I presented a copy. He observed, that it had struck him as a very dangerous power to make the president commander-in-chief: in other respects it appeared to please him much, as leading to a near and sure treaty of commerce between America and Denmark. It was a day of public business, and I could not do more than present your letter. I shall follow the business closely. In a few days, when I am re-established in health, I am

to be presented to the whole court, and to sup with the King. I shall after that be presented to all the corps diplomatique and other persons of distinction here. I am infinitely indebted to the attentions I receive from the minister of France. I made the inquiry you desired in Holland, and should then have written to you in consequence, had I not been assured, by authority, (*M. Van Stophorst,*) that I could not doubt that letters had been sent you on the subject, that could not fail of giving you satisfaction. M. Van Stophorst was very obliging. At Hamburgh I ordered the smoked beef you desired to be sent to you, to the care of the American agent at Havre de Grace; you have nothing to do but receive it, paying what little charges may be on it. My ill health and fatigue on the road hindered me from preparing the extract of the engagement. When you see M. Littlepage, I pray you to present my kind compliments. It is said here, that the Empress confides the commerce of her fleet, that will pass the Sound, to Admiral Greig; and that he means to call at an English port to take provisions, &c. The Hamburgh papers, I am

told, have announced the death of Dr Franklin. I shall be extremely concerned if the account prove true—God forbid!"

A subsequent letter states,—

"Yesterday his excellency the Baron de La Houge, minister plenipotentiary of France at this court, did me the honour to present me publicly to his Majesty, the Royal Family, and chief personages at the royal palace here.

"I had a very polite and distinguished reception. The Queen Dowager conversed with me for some time, and said the most civil things. Her Majesty has a dignity of person and deportment which becomes her well, and which she has the secret to reconcile with great affability and ease. The Princess Royal is a charming person, and the graces are so much her own, that it is impossible to see and converse with her without paying her that homage which artless beauty and good nature will ever command. All the Royal Family spoke to me except the King, who speaks to no person when presented. His Majesty saluted me with great complaisance at first, and as often afterwards as we met in the course

of the evening. The Prince Royal is greatly beloved and extremely affable; he asked me a number of pertinent questions respecting America. I had the honour to be invited to sup with his Majesty and the Royal Family. The company at table (consisting of seventy ladies and gentlemen, including the Royal Family, the ministers of state, and foreign ambassadors) was very brilliant."

But this flattering reception, and abundance of diplomatic courtesy, did not long satisfy the negotiator, who was moreover engaged in another game with Baron Krudner, the Russian Envoy at this court, which interested him far more deeply. He was, in short, impatient to reach the goal of his new-sprung hopes, St Petersburgh, and accordingly addressed Count Bernstorf in his best style of diplomacy :—

Captain Paul Jones to Count Bernstorf.

"Copenhagen, 24th March, 1788.

"From the act of Congress, (the act by which I am honoured with a *gold medal*,) I had the

honour to show your Excellency the 21st of this month, as well as from the conversation that followed, you must be convinced that circumstances do not permit me to remain here; but that I am under the necessity, either to return to France or to proceed to Russia.—As the minister of the United States of America at Paris gave me the perusal of the packet he wrote by me, and which I had the honour to present to you on my arrival here, it is needless to go into any detail on the object of my mission to this court; which Mr Jefferson has particularly explained. The promise you have given me, of a prompt and explicit decision, from this Court, on the act of Congress of the 25th of October last, inspires me with full confidence. I have been very particular in communicating to the United States all the polite attentions with which I have been honoured at this Court; and they will learn with great pleasure the kind reception I had from you. I felicitated myself on being the instrument to settle the delicate national business in question, with a minister who conciliates the views of the wise statesman with the noble

sentiments and cultivated mind of the true philosopher and man of letters."

Paul Jones to Count Bernstorf.

" Copenhagen, March 30, 1788.

" Your silence on the subject of my mission from the United States to this Court leaves me in the most painful suspense; the more so, as I have made your Excellency acquainted with the promise I am under to proceed as soon as possible to St Petersburgh. This being the ninth year since the three prizes reclaimed by the United States were seized upon in the port of Bergen, in Norway, it is to be presumed that this Court has long since taken an ultimate resolution respecting the compensation demand made by Congress. Though I am extremely sensible of the favourable reception with which I have been distinguished at this Court, and am particularly flattered by the polite attentions with which you have honoured me at every conference; yet I have remarked, with great concern, that you have never led the conversation to the object of my

mission here. A man of your liberal sentiments will not, therefore, be surprised, or offended at my plain dealing, when I repeat that I impatiently expect a prompt and categorical answer, in writing, from this Court, to the act of Congress of the 25th of October last. Both my duty and the circumstances of my situation constrain me to make this demand in the name of my Sovereign the United States of America; but I beseech you to believe, that though I am extremely tenacious of the *honour* of the *American flag*, yet my personal interest in the decision I now ask would never have induced me to present myself at this Court. You are too just, Sir, to delay my business here; which would put me under the necessity to break the promise I have made to her Imperial Majesty, conformable to your advice."

Count Bernstorf to Paul Jones.

"Copenhagen, April 4, 1788.

"SIR,

"You have requested of me an answer to the

letter you did me the honour to remit me from Mr Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near his most Christian Majesty. I do it with so much more pleasure, as you have inspired me with as much interest as confidence, and this occasion appears to me favourable to make known the sentiments of the King my master, on the objects to which we attach so much importance. Nothing can be farther from the plans and the wishes of his majesty than to let fall a negotiation which has only been suspended in consequence of circumstances arising from the necessity of maturing a new situation, so as to enlighten himself on their reciprocal interests, and to avoid the inconvenience of a precipitate and imperfect arrangement. I am authorized, Sir, to give you, and through you to Mr Jefferson, the word of the King, that his majesty will renew the negotiation for a treaty of amity and commerce in the forms already agreed upon, at the instant that the new Constitution (that admirable plan, so worthy of the wisdom of the most enlightened men) will have been adopted by the states, to

which nothing more was wanted to assure to itself a perfect consideration. If it has not been possible, Sir, to discuss, definitively with you, neither the principal object nor its accessories, the idea of eluding the question, or of retarding the decision, had not the least part in it. I have already had the honour to express to you, in our conversations, that your want of plenipotentiary powers from Congress was a natural and invincible obstacle. It would be, likewise, contrary to the established custom to change the seat of negotiation, which has not been broken off, but only suspended, thereby to transfer it from Paris to Copenhagen.

" I have only one more favour to ask of you, Sir, that you would be the interpreter of our sentiments in regard to the United States. It would be a source of gratification to me to think that what I have said to you on this subject carries with it that conviction of the truth which it merits. We desire to form with them connexions, solid, useful, and essential; we wish to establish them on bases natural and immoveable. The momentary clouds, the incertitudes, which the

misfortunes of the times brought with them, exist no longer. We should no longer recollect it, but to feel in a more lively manner the happiness of a more fortunate period; and to show ourselves more eager to prove the dispositions most proper to effect an union, and to procure reciprocally the advantages which a sincere alliance can afford, and of which the two countries are susceptible. These are the sentiments which I can promise you, Sir, on our part, and we flatter ourselves to find them likewise in America; nothing, then, can retard the conclusion of an arrangement, which I am happy to see so far advanced."

Paul Jones to Count Bernstorf.

"Copenhagen, April 5, 1788.

"I pray your Excellency to inform me when I can have the honour to wait on you, to receive the letter you have been kind enough to promise to write me, in answer to the act of Congress of the 25th October last. As you have told me that my want of plenipotentiary powers to terminate *ultimately* the business now on the

carpet, between the Court and the United States, has determined you to authorize the Baron de Blôme to negotiate and settle the same with Mr Jefferson at Paris, and to conclude, at the same time, an advantageous treaty of commerce between Denmark and the United States,—my business here will of course be at an end when I shall have received your letter and paid you my thanks in person for the very polite attentions with which you have honoured me."

From Baron Krudner, shortly after his arrival, Jones received the following letter, which of itself denotes a foregone conclusion, and his acceptance of the invitation of Russia :—

(Translation.)

" Sir,

" I am much disappointed at not meeting you at Court, as I had promised myself, but a slight indisposition prevented me from going abroad; besides, I have been agreeably occupied in writing letters. My Sovereign will learn with pleasure the acquisition which she has made in your great talents. I have her commands for your

acceptance of the grade of Captain Commandant, with the rank of Major General, in her service, and that you should proceed as soon as your affairs permit; the intention of her Imperial Majesty being to give you a command in the Black Sea, and under the orders of Prince Potemkin, from the opening of the campaign. The immortal glory by which you have illustrated your name cannot make you indifferent to the fresh laurels you must gather in the new career which opens to you. I have the honour of being on this occasion the interpreter of those sentiments of esteem with which for a long period your brilliant exploits have inspired her Imperial Majesty. Under a Sovereign so magnanimous, in pursuing glory you need not doubt of the most distinguished rewards, and that every advantage of fortune will await you," &c. &c.

This was so far well, but did not entirely come up to the high-raised expectations of Jones. In a letter to Jefferson about this same time, he says, " Before you can receive this, M. de Simolin will have informed you that your proposal to him, and his application on that idea, have

been well received. The matter is communicated to me here, in the most flattering terms, by a letter I have received from his Excellency the Baron de Krudner." This is indeed perfectly contradictory of the statement Jones gives in the introduction to his Journal of the Campaign of the Liman, where the proposal of M. de Simolin is represented as quite spontaneous, and treated by himself at first as chimerical; but this is evidently the correct one. "There seems," he continues, "to remain some difficulty respecting the *letter* of M. de Simolin's proposal, though it is accepted in substance;" he then expresses his gratitude to the Russian Ambassador, and to Mr Littlepage, who had contributed so materially to his success in this affair. In a subsequent letter to Jefferson, written immediately before leaving Copenhagen, after enumerating his services, and mentioning what might have been his services had he possessed more ample diplomatic powers, he introduces the subject nearest his heart. Russia had demurred to his demand of the rank of Rear-Admiral. "If Congress," he says, "should think I deserve the

promotion that was proposed when I was in America, and should condescend to confer on me the grade of Rear-Admiral, from the day I took the Serapis, (23d September, 1779, exactly nine years before,) I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the Empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never had the honour to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could merit her imperial benevolence." He afterwards continues: "The mark I mentioned of the approbation of that honourable body, (Congress) would be extremely flattering to me in the career I am now to pursue, and would stimulate all my ambition to acquire the necessary talents to merit that, and even greater favours at a future day. I pray you, Sir, to explain the circumstances of my situation; and be the interpreter of my sentiments to the United States in Congress. I ask for nothing, and beg leave to be understood only as having hinted what is natural to conceive, that the mark of approbation I mentioned could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going." Ser-

viceable this piece of idle distinction might have been in smoothing the difficulties thrown in the way of his obtaining the rank of Rear-Admiral, for which he stipulated on entering the Russian service, and which, as appears from his former letter to Jefferson, and from the letter of Baron Krudner, given above, was refused at the outset. Though not disposed to break off his engagement, neither was he willing to give up his claims to the desired grade without a strenuous effort. He immediately replied to the Baron, going over the whole ground:—"I am extremely flattered," he says, "by the obliging things expressed in the letter your Excellency has done me the honour to write me yesterday. The very favourable sentiments with which my zeal for the cause of America, rather than my professional skill, has inspired her Imperial Majesty, fills me with an irresistible desire to merit the precious opinion with which her Majesty deigns to honour me. Though I cannot conceive the reason why any difficulty should be made to my being admitted into the marine of her Imperial Majesty as Rear-Admiral, a rank to which I have some

claim, and that it should at the same time be proposed to give me the grade of Major-General, to which I have no title, it is not my intention to withdraw from the engagement which you have formed in my name, in the letter you addressed your court on the 23d current. You will be convinced by the papers I have the honour to submit to your inspection, that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune. You will discover, I presume, that my talents have been considerable; but that, loving glory, I am perhaps too much attached to honours, though personal interest is an idol to which I have never bowed the knee. The unbounded admiration and profound respect which I have long felt for the glorious character of her Imperial Majesty, forbids the idea that a sovereign so magnanimous should sanction any arrangement that may give pain at the outset to the man she deigns to honour with her notice, and who wishes to devote himself entirely to her service. A conjoined command is hurtful, and often fatal in military operations. There is no military man who is so entirely master of his passions as to keep free of

jealousy and its consequences in such circumstances. Being quite a stranger, I have more to fear from a conjoined command than any other officer in the service of her Imperial Majesty. I cannot imagine why her Majesty should think it best to divide the command on the Black Sea; and if the direction of that department be already confided to an officer of sufficient ability and experience, I do not seek to interfere with his command."

Jones was already aware of the appointment of the Prince of Nassau, and even thus early foresaw many of the probable difficulties of his situation; but he had that confidence in himself which gave him assurance of triumphing over them, and proceeded, if not blindfold, yet determined not to see. We leave to his own narrative the account of his almost romantic journey from Copenhagen to St Petersburgh. In that capital he was received with a distinction which might have turned the soundest head. His very manner of approach had disposed people to gaze on the American hero as a wonder; his door was besieged with carriages, and his table loaded with

invitations. In short, he was now in Russia, and the man whom, for the time, the Empress delighted to honour; the expected conqueror of the Turks; and it might be, a future Potemkin.*

At this curiously-timed juncture he received a patent from the King of Denmark, granting him for life an annual pension of 1500 Danish crowns, "for the respect he had shown to the Danish flag while he commanded in the North Seas." To pension the agent whose claims for his constituents are deferred or evaded, is at all times a somewhat suspicious circumstance; though this grant being unexpected and unsolicited, Jones stands clear in what he himself justly calls "an embarrassing situation." It was three years before he even mentioned this grant to his American friends; and had his affairs prospered, it is

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* The cards of many of the Russian nobility received at this time, and of the whole host of Members of Legation, Envoys, Residents, &c., in short, all the component parts of a great court, still remain among the papers of Paul Jones, who through life seems to have been peculiarly diligent in the accumulation of such "frail memorials."

probable he never would have looked after it. As it was, when his large expenditure in Russia made it necessary to draw on this fund, which he did with the sanction of certain American gentlemen, whose advice he requested, he never received a single crown of the spontaneous royal grant thus pressed upon him.

For a fortnight Jones remained at St Petersburgh, "feasted at court, and in the first society." "The Empress," he writes to La Fayette, "received me with a distinction the most flattering that perhaps any stranger can boast of on entering the Russian service. Her Majesty conferred on me immediately the grade of Rear-Admiral. I was detained, against my will, a fortnight, and continually feasted at court, and in the first society. This was a cruel grief to the English; and I own their vexation, which I believe was general in and about St Petersburgh, gave me no pain." Before the year elapsed, the Rear-Admiral found some cause to change his opinions in many things; and even respecting the English at St Petersburgh. He was about

this time at least three-fourths Russian. We hear no longer of America as his sole country, though he assumes a certain patronizing air towards that young State. "I certainly wish to be useful to a country which I have so long served. I love the people and their cause, and shall always rejoice when I can be useful to promote their happiness." "What are you about, my dear General? are you so absorbed in politics as to be insensible to glory? that is impossible,—quit then your divine Calypso, come here and pay your court to Bellona, who you are sure will receive you as her favourite. You would be charmed with Prince Potemkin. He is a most amiable man, and none can be more noble-minded. For the Empress, fame has never yet done her justice. I am sure that no stranger who has not known that illustrious character, ever conceived how much her Majesty is made to reign over a great empire, to make people happy, and to attach grateful and susceptible minds. Is not the present a happy moment for France to declare for Russia?" Such were the extra-

ordinary lights that had suddenly dawned upon the former champion of liberty and assertor of the "dignity of human nature."

A few weeks before the above letter was despatched to La Fayette, the Empress, with her own hand, had written to the Rear-Admiral, enclosing a letter from M. de Simolin, regarding his affairs. Though disappointed of sole command, as will appear in the subjoined narrative, he still continued to be dazzled with his prospects. The letter of her Imperial Majesty, who spared no pains in carrying a favourite point, as well as its enclosure, deserves to be preserved:—

From the Empress Catherine to Rear-Admiral Paul Jones.

"Sir,—A courier from Paris has just brought from my Envoy in France, M. de Simolin, the enclosed letter to Count Besborodko. As I believe that this letter may help to confirm to you what I have already told you verbally, I have sent it, and beg you to return it, as I have

not even made a copy be taken, so anxious am I that you should see it. I hope that it will efface all doubts from your mind, and prove to you that you are to be connected only with those who are most favourably disposed towards you. I have no doubt but that on your side you will fully justify the opinion which we have formed of you, and apply yourself with zeal to support the reputation and the name you have acquired for valour and skill on the element in which you are to serve.

Adieu,

I wish you happiness and health,

CATHERINE."

Extract of the Letter from M. de Simolin to Count de Besborodko, enclosed in the above.

"THE letter with which your Excellency favoured me on the 16th February, was delivered by Mr Poliranoff. By it I was informed of the resolution of her Imperial Majesty, on the subject of the engagement with the Chevalier Paul Jones; and the same day Lieutenant-Colonel de Baner, who was despatched from St Elizabeth by

Prince Potemkin on the 9th March, brought me two letters, the subject of one of which was the said Chevalier Jones, whom he requested me to induce to repair to his head-quarters as quickly as possible, that he might employ his talents at the opening of the campaign; and to assure him that in entering the service, he, (Potemkin,) would do all that depended on him to make his situation pleasant and advantageous, and certainly procure for him occasions in which he might display his skill and valour." "Has he kept his word?" says Jones in a note long afterwards affixed to this letter, which at the moment must have given him so much pleasure.

Such were the flattering auspices under which Paul Jones entered the service of Russia. From this point his history will be continued for some time by the most interesting portion of his remaining papers—his Journal of the Campaign of the Liman.

END OF VOLUME I.

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